

# The Nation.

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## The Week.

THE President has produced another sensation this week by a "Memorandum," given to Mr. Jones of Nevada for publication, setting forth his views with regard to desirable legislation on the finances. He says that this is a very favorable time to take measures for a return to a specie basis; that an adequate plan is of more importance than any particular plan, and that it ought to fix a time for redemption, and be adhered to, whatever it may be; that his own financial platform is one from which he would not depart except in a spirit of concession and harmony and in deference to conflicting opinions. He proposes, therefore, (1) that the legal-tender clause be repealed on and after July 1, 1875, so that all contracts and sales and prices should thereafter be estimated in coin. People would, of course, still use paper, but they would calculate its purchasing power in gold. (2) That provision should be made for the redemption of United States notes on July 1, 1876, by the issue of four and a half per cent. ten-forty bonds, and that in one year after redemption all bills of less than \$5 should be withdrawn from circulation, and in two years all bills less than \$10—a provision which he thinks would give strength to the country against time of depression, failure of crops, or any other cause, by keeping always in the hands of the people a supply of the precious metals. He recommends, also, an excess of revenue over current expenditure, to be secured by economy and taxation, so as to keep up a constant reduction of the public debt, and provide a part of the coin needed for the redemption of the United States notes. Under these conditions he sees no objection to any amount of "free banking."

Upon the principal point in this scheme we have commented elsewhere. The President's hostility to small bills is justifiable on some grounds, but the reason he gives for it will hardly bear examination. The absence of them doubtless keeps a considerable supply of coin in the country in ordinary times, but in "a time of depression, resulting from war or short crops," whether the coin necessary for small change would remain in the people's hands would depend on the fate of the bills for amounts above \$10. If these remained redeemable in coin, as much coin as people needed for the transaction of business would be kept in the country under all circumstances. If there were a suspension of specie payments, however, the result would be that while the large bills would at once go to a discount, the people would be left totally without small change by the exportation of the coin, and they would, in the absence of small bills, have to issue shinplasters and tokens, or use postage-stamps, as in 1861. Money for small transactions cannot be kept in the country when specie is flying, because specie goes out in any way exporters can get hold of it—in dimes, quarters, dollars, as well as in eagles; and exporters do not care a straw whether they are leaving any behind for small change or not. All that Government can do to keep coin in the country is to make it the only legal-tender. Having done this, the people will do the rest, which consists in lowering the prices of commodities whenever bullion begins to go abroad and money grows scarce.

The question of cheap transportation has been the main one in the Senate, so far as debate is concerned, and the particular topic has been a resolution in virtue of which two hundred thousand dollars are to be spent in making surveys and estimates for such improvements of the four well-known water-course routes to the sea as were a while since recommended by the Windom Committee.

As might have been expected, the debate now and again took an old-fashioned Constitutional turn, some of the Democratic speakers impugning the power of Congress to go into the States and begin canal-making. But as might also have been expected, some of the Western Democrats have longing hearts for canals that shall lead from their constituencies to tide-water. Mr. Bogy of Missouri, for instance, avowed himself a strict constructionist, and a States-rights man; but still, one of the proposed improvements is the improvement of the Mississippi between St. Louis and New Orleans, another is a canal from the Mississippi by way of the Ohio and Kanawha to an ultimate tide-water terminus in Virginia, and Mr. Bogy favored the resolution. Mr. Hamilton (of Maryland) opposed it. He said that there is now in the West a powerful body of voters known as the Grangers, and this resolution was neither more nor less than a device to capture them. Some light was thrown on this free remark by the action of the Senate on the next day. The question came up of printing and distributing the report of the Agricultural Bureau. It was an amendment to a bill of Mr. Anthony's. The proposal was to print twenty-five thousand copies, and let the Commissioner distribute them to agricultural societies and to persons who have shown an interest in the working of the Bureau. An attempt was made to reduce this number to 15,000, but it failed. So did an attempt to increase it to 50,000; but by-and-by, on a motion of Mr. Stevenson's, it was voted to print 300,000—200,000 for the House, 75,000 for the Senate, and 25,000 for the Commissioner. These are to be distributed gratis. One of the worst things about this amendment and a companion amendment which looks likely to pass, and which restores in good part to senators their ancient franking privilege, is that the two have killed Mr. Anthony's judicious original scheme of selling all public documents at cost price to such persons as actually need them and will make use of them. The Senate has preferred to employ them as a bait—stale and poor at the best—for vote-catching.

At this writing the Senate has discussed the Moieties Bill as it came up from the House, and defeated an amendment intended to restore, in a modified form, the power of examining books and papers. The amendment simply provided that in all suits and proceedings, other than criminal, arising out of the revenue laws, the failure of the merchant to produce any specified book or paper, when required to do so by the Government counsel, should be taken as a confession that the allegation which such book or paper was intended to prove was true. The rejection of a provision as mild as this shows that the Custom-house is fairly beaten. The Phelps-Dodge case came up in the course of the debate, and Mr. Boutwell defended the action of the Treasury in it, and, while complimenting Mr. Dodge personally, expressed his own belief that there was enough in the case to justify the action of the Government, and went so far as to declare—if he is correctly reported in the telegraphic summary—that "if ever law was mercifully administered, it was in this case." The point he lays stress on is that the private invoices "or memoranda of the firm differed from the invoices in the invoice-book." The firm have half-a-dozen times explained to the satisfaction of the public how this difference was caused. If this explanation is not on its face sufficient, the way to judge whether it was due to fraudulent intent is to ask how much they could possibly have made by it; and the answer to this is acknowledged on all hands to be \$1,500 or thereabouts, which at once, in view of the magnitude of the transactions of the house, makes the charge absurd. Mr. Boutwell dwells also on the fact that the firm did not go into court; but why they did not Judge Davis has explained sufficiently by showing that they had been guilty of technical fraud, and were therefore, in the monstrous condition of the law, exposed to a penalty of over a million.

The best thing Mr. Boutwell could have done for himself and the Treasury would have been to pass this case over in silence, and there is the less excuse for his not doing so as he proclaims his hostility to the moiety system. The probabilities now seem to be that the bill will pass the Senate substantially as it came from the House; after which, according to the Custom-house, the "honest importer" will be ruined by the success of the smugglers. The meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in this city on Monday appointed a committee to go to Washington to stir the Senate up, and passed resolutions denouncing "spies and informers, farmers of the revenue on shares, and corrupt Treasury agents," approving of the Roberts bill, and condemning in severe terms, *seriatim*, the whole list of devices by which Jayne screwed money out of importers. When one reads this list, and remembers that a man like Jayne, an obscure and characterless adventurer, was allowed to put them in force for several years against the commercial community, and sees the comparative ease with which they are now being swept away when the public is fairly roused against it, one understands how deeply some of our best social and political traditions were buried by the passions of the war.

The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty is before the Senate, and, so far as is known, does not differ materially from the outline which we gave last week. The money compensation for the fisheries is abandoned by Great Britain; all natural products of each country are admitted into the other duty free, and certain specified manufactured articles, the list of which has not been published. The Welland and St. Lawrence and Caughnawaga canals are to be built by Canada, and all canals on both sides of the line are to be open to the citizens of the two countries on equal terms, while Lake Michigan is to be open to the Canadians. The treaty is to continue in force for twenty-one years, and joint commissioners are to arrange various details connected with its execution. The construction and preparation of the canals will be a serious matter for the Canadians, who have, for the past two years, had a heavy and increasing deficit in their revenue, owing to too great ardor in "internal improvements," as they will cost, it is estimated, \$8,000,000. The deficit for the current year will amount, it is estimated, to over \$2,500,000, and the Government has undertaken the construction of railroads and other works to the amount of nearly \$105,000,000. The Chicago *Tribune* estimates that the gain to the West will be the shortening of the water-route from Chicago to the ocean by at least one week, and that the freight charges on grain from the Mississippi Valley will be lowered from eight to fifteen cents a bushel, which it is to be hoped will put a stop to the attempt to plunder the railroad companies.

The time having been set for the adjournment of Congress, and little more than a week of the session remaining, both Houses have been very active. The House has done a good deal of work on the appropriations, and, among other things, has passed the bill for constructing a canal at the mouth of the Mississippi; has made an end of the Civil Rights Bill; has, so far as the House possesses power in the matter, admitted Colorado as the thirty-ninth State of the Union, New Mexico being the thirty-eighth, or, rather, having a prospect of being the thirty-eighth; has ordered to be made by engineer officers and civil engineers a survey of the Mississippi levee system; has passed a bill for the abolition of straw bids in postal contracts, and another classifying postmasters and providing for their appointment. Postmasters are hereafter to be divided into five classes, of which our New York postmaster of himself constitutes one. His salary is set at \$6,000. The other four classes are composed of officials ranged according to compensation, the highest class getting between \$3,000 and \$4,000, the next between \$2,000 and \$3,000, and so on. The lowest class, those receiving less than a thousand dollars a year, are to be appointed by the Postmaster-General, the others by the President. On Wednesday, the 3d inst., Mr. Kelley, who naturally is in great agitation of mind over the proposed Reciprocity Treaty with Canada, tried to intro-

duce a resolution to the effect that the Executive be asked for information as to any negotiations looking toward an interference with the constitutional rights of the House of Representatives, which alone has power to levy imposts. The House refused to receive it, and, as the laws which alone can give force to commercial treaties must expressly be passed by Congress, and the treaty can only go into effect on the passage of such laws, Mr. Kelley's resolution was needless.

On Friday, the Fort St. Philip Canal Bill passed. It provides for a canal (twenty-five feet deep and two hundred feet wide at the bottom) which shall run from a point on the east side of the river near the fort to the Breton Pass in the Gulf. The Secretary of War is to have surveys made at once, and as soon as may be is to begin the work. \$8,000,000 is the estimated expense. On the following day the bill passed for the investigation of the levee system. Two army engineers and two civil engineers are to report on the general subject of the best method of permanently reclaiming the alluvial basin of the Mississippi. On Monday, the Committee on Elections made a majority report that neither Pinchback nor Sheridan was entitled to a seat as representative-at-large from Louisiana; so the former gentleman has, in one twelvemonth, had the honor of failing to secure, first, a seat in the Senate, and then a seat in the House; but he had sufficient impudence to make the attempt on both. Louisiana's case, abstractly considered, does not much trouble the Administration senators and representatives, but apparently in the concrete form of a mulatto gambler it turns their stomachs, and they keep him at arm's length.

Political affairs begin to occupy the attention of the politicians, the autumn elections being now not many weeks distant, and many Congressmen being justly anxious about their political future. The country appears rather to add to its disgust and apathy than to take on any excitement, but there need be no fear that the polls will not be the scene of sufficient activity. Come election day, and there is never, so far as we know, any failure of interest; nor will there probably be any want of a sufficient number of the "issues" the absence of which so many of us have been lamenting. It must be confessed, however, that these are as yet but dimly discerned, and there seems to be a very good and a growing chance for independent voters to make themselves felt in the making up of the Forty-fourth Congress. It is noteworthy that at the caucus of Republican Congressmen held in Washington on Monday for the purpose of reviving the Congressional National Committee, Mr. Kelley—how changed from the Kelley of Thaddeus Stevens's day!—despondingly said that he saw no use in setting up a committee; the party, he said, had no policy; it was even divided against itself; and he had no desire to help any candidate who was a hard-money enemy of the poor. Mr. Kasson, on the contrary, thought that a committee was highly desirable, and declared that a party had enough on which to go before the country when it could point to a reduction of \$20,000,000 of expenditures in one year, and could promise to eighteen millions of citizens that they should henceforth have cheap transportation to the sea for the products of their toil. All this, however looked at, would seem to promise a much less bumptious set of Republicans next winter and the winter after.

The *Evening Post* last Wednesday week presented Rochefort to the public of this city in the following terms:

"M. ROCHEFORT'S REVELATIONS.—The remarkable letter of the noted French refugee in the *Herald* . . . forms a very valuable contribution to the modern history of France. Up to the present day, almost everything we have had on the history of the Commune has come from the victorious side. From the moment when the Archbishop of Paris was assassinated, the insurgents became in the eyes of the whole outside world a vast set of plunderers and murderers, and all the severities and reprisals of the Versailles Government seemed perfectly justified. The other side has never had a fair hearing, and when we now read for the first time the shocking narrative, giving a few illustrations of the manner in which some thirty thousand Frenchmen were slaughtered, we shudder."

Here we have a light-headed feuilletonist and lampooner of the low-

est grade of the Paris press, and who probably hardly ever wrote the truth in his life except by accident, and never even attempted a narrative of anything, introduced to the New York public as a trustworthy historian. We therefore expressed our "surprise to see a paper of the *Post's* standing treating his story of the Commune in the *Herald* as worthy of credit," and added "that his appearance here as a historian ought to be too much for average credulity." This the *Post* treated as "a benevolent reprimand for having made *any mention whatever* of M. Rochefort's letter in the *Herald*," and accused us of recommending to it "the policy of ignoring public occurrences." We cannot help feeling that when our aged and much-esteemed contemporary looks over this matter more carefully, it will see something to regret in this reproduction of our remarks. We made them because we think the leading newspapers owe the public all the protection in their power against charlatans and impostors.

The attendance at Rochefort's lecture was very small—not over 500 in all—and seemed smaller owing to the fact that his supporters in their enthusiasm had taken the Academy of Music for the occasion. His address was a rambling, incoherent attack on M. Jules Favre, on General Trochu, on the Catholics, on Louis Veuillot, and on the generals of the army at Versailles; a eulogy on a woman named Louise Michel, who took part in the insurrection, and shared his captivity, and "whose religious beliefs were those of Jeanne d'Arc, and political beliefs those of Théroigne de Mericourt"; a short sketch of the horrors of his captivity, and a short denunciation of monarchy. He also explained how he came to marry, on her deathbed, the woman with whom he lived for a good many years, and by whom he had several children. His friends here had been flattering themselves that he did it from a sense of duty to her and to his offspring, but he took pains to undeceive them, by assuring them he married her just to gratify her, as he "would have given her a cashmere shawl if her fancy had required one." He sailed for Europe on the day following the lecture, giving up the plan of delivering it in Boston and Philadelphia, either through disgust at his want of success or owing to the urgent solicitations of his family that he should return home at once.

An Indian Commission of ten members was appointed in 1869 who were all men of high standing and character, who were to serve without pay, and who were to superintend the inauguration of a new policy towards the Indian tribes. Four of these resigned at an early period from the feeling that they could not give sufficient time and attention to the matter. The remaining six have now resigned. In their letter to the President they highly commend his Indian policy, but regret that the Secretary of the Interior has not urged upon Congress the legislation recommended by them making the Indian Bureau independent of the Department of the Interior, and say that as the Indian appropriation recently passed requires all the accounts to be examined in Washington, and all the other duties imposed on them by the law to be discharged in the same place, they cannot continue in office. They say the overruling of their decisions by the Department of the Interior would render their auditing idle and vexatious, and that a board like theirs under the control of the Department would be a comparatively useless appendage to the service. Mr. William E. Dodge, one of the Commissioners, subsequently explained to a reporter of the *Tribune* that they found that after having given a contract to some one outside the Indian Ring, on conditions which ensured justice to the Indians, they were apt to find that he threw it up, and that it would be awarded after all to somebody whom the Commissioners wished to avoid. The law, too, required that all bills should be audited by them, but gave the ultimate power of payment to the Secretary of the Interior, and it was frequently found that bills they had disallowed were subsequently paid by him all the same. In fact, the sum and substance of the whole matter is, that the Indian Ring has proved too strong for the Commission.

The Brewers have followed the example of the Farmers and other trades in organizing to resist the oppression on the part of the rest of the community of which they are the victims. They had a "Congress" last week in Boston, at which they passed a series of thunder-toned resolutions, in which they declared that brewing was a great and growing manufacture contributing heavily to the internal revenue, to their great gratification, and therefore entitled to demand recognition and protection; asked for a remission of the duty on Canadian barley, and protested against any increase of the duty on hops; denounced the so-called temperance societies for their interference with their business; promised to use every effort to influence public opinion in favor of the use of malt liquors, not only as wholesome and nutritious, but as absolutely necessary as a healthful restorative; "called on each and every brewer" to oppose all candidates for office who are in favor of prohibitory laws, and to support men who believe in malt liquors. The resolutions closed with an expression of enthusiastic devotion to the Government and the public credit. This rise of the malt-liquor interest against its enemies is one of the curious signs of the times.

The assembled brewers had some cause to congratulate themselves while in session on an apparent change in Massachusetts sentiment as regards the prohibitory law. Both Houses of the State Legislature passed a bill abolishing the notorious State Constabulary, and when, to the surprise of everybody, the new Governor, Mr. Talbot, vetoed it, the Senate passed it over his veto, and the House was not so very far from doing so. We may doubt, however, if this apparent change of sentiment is not apparent rather than real. Massachusetts has long been studying the question of regulating the liquor-traffic, but the indications are not as yet decided that she has come to any settled conclusion, or that the question has been taken out of politics and is to be discussed as by rational human beings. It is plainly intimated that Governor Talbot, who has not hitherto been a force in politics, has been tempted by the luck of his succession to Mr. Washburn to do some political figuring for his own behoof as a candidate next autumn. He may at that time learn that whatever may be the constancy with which the State now adheres to the sumptuary law which for twenty years has flickered on and off the statute-book, there is at least heavy popular disgust with the State constables. For a long time the reputation of this force has, to speak plainly, been badly tainted; and they have been odious not only for the personal corruption to which their peculiar relations with liquor-dealers held out to them so many temptations, but also they have been in many instances politically corrupt, as indeed one sort of corruption is apt to breed another. Butler, for instance, has not seldom found them useful.

Our Paris correspondent throws a good deal of interesting light on the political situation as it stood at the downfall of the De Broglie ministry. Since then nothing has occurred to improve it, and the open declaration of the Left Centre in favor of a dissolution and of the definitive proclamation of a republic by a manifesto signed by 125 members of this section, indicates that a crisis of some kind is not far off. Since the publication of the manifesto, it is hoped that the remainder of the Left Centre, which musters about 180 in all, and is the most powerful portion of the Assembly, will also add their signatures. The Cable brings a summary of the Paris letter of the London *Times*, which states that their programme now is to press the establishment of a regular government by moving for a vote on the first article of the constitutional bill introduced last year, providing that the Government shall consist of a Senate, House of Representatives, and President of the Republic. Should this fail, the motion for a dissolution is to be pushed vigorously. The feeling gains ground more and more that the Bonapartists will come out of the confusion stronger than ever, every other party having been discredited in a greater or less degree by what has happened since the war.

## THE PRESIDENT'S "MEMORANDUM."

THE late veto of the Senate Inflation Bill has had two important results. It has reminded Congress and the country of the great power over legislation possessed by the President when parties are as closely matched as they are on this currency question, and it has roused the President into taking the position in regard to it which he ought to have taken in 1869. In Congress, we find that in the debate on the bill now pending the main subject of consideration is not the requirements of "the West," but the President's requirements, and we shall probably see the Government at last pledged to begin the redemption of its over-due paper on a day certain, simply because it seems pretty sure that no financial measure which does not contain a provision of this sort will obtain his signature. This has startled the inflationists out of the pleasing dreams of last winter, and brought them into a sober and chastened frame of mind. We could wish, for reasons which we shall give presently, that the awakening had come in some other way, but it is welcome in whatever way it comes. The President himself, too, is probably surprised by the success of the stopper which he put on their schemes. The rejoicing it caused among intelligent citizens, and the congratulations which have poured in on him from all parts of the world, have doubtless revealed to him a source of strength and popularity of which he hardly suspected the existence. Thus far, although he has been five years in the White House, he has been mainly known to the country as a civil-service reformer of more than doubtful sincerity. He has come into contact with the public mainly (indeed, if it were not for the St. Domingo affair one might say wholly) in the exercise of the appointing power; and to say that he had distinguished himself in that field would be at least coarse flattery. His last performance in it, the selection of Simmons for the Boston Custom-house, without regard either to the new rules or the old usages, had reduced people to despair, or was fast doing so. When they began to call on him for a veto, we think we do not exaggerate when we say that not one person in a thousand expected that they would get it. When it came, therefore, it produced a feeling of delighted surprise, and its reception has evidently roused the President into activity, of which we see the first-fruits in the Memorandum published last week at the request of Mr. Jones of Nevada. It is quite evident that General Grant means hereafter to occupy himself seriously with the finances—that he has a policy about them, and that he means to use his influence energetically to get it embodied in legislation.

Moreover, his ideas are in the main sound. He believes that the Government notes should be deprived of their legal-tender character, and that provision should be made for their redemption in coin on a day certain, the money to be provided by the issue of four and a half per cent. bonds. We do not know of a single valid objection that can be made to these two suggestions, except as to the dates he fixes. July 1, 1875, is perhaps too soon for the change in the character of the greenbacks, and July 1, 1876, is perhaps too soon for their redemption in gold; but we do not know what else can be said against them. Judge Hoar proposed as an amendment in the House of Representatives, in April last, substantially the same thing, but with a longer period of delay, viz., that after July 4, 1876, nothing but gold and silver should be a legal tender for the payment of debts thereafter contracted, and that on and after the same date greenbacks should be convertible at par into four and a half per cent. ten-thirty bonds. The difference between the two plans is simply that the President would provide the gold for redemption by the sale of bonds, while Judge Hoar would call in the greenbacks by making them convertible into bonds. The difference in practice would be very slight. On the President's plan, a greenback would become worth par in gold; on Judge Hoar's, it would become worth a four and a half per cent. bond of a similar amount, which would be but little, if anything, below par probably. The United States ten-forties are now quoted in London at 103½, and any plan of resumption would strengthen our credit. Mr. Edward Atkinson of Boston, who has written a pamphlet in support of Judge Hoar's

scheme, points out that it might be advisable, in order to quiet the imagination of debtors, that the bonds should be for a short period reconvertible into notes, for the payment of *old* debts, but this privilege need not last very long. The business of the country would adapt itself in a very short space of time to the new order of things, and debtors would probably soon begin to wonder how it was that their nerves were ever shaken at the prospect of resumption. Moreover, we venture to predict that supposing General Grant's plan to be adopted, the world would be surprised to find how small an amount of bonds would need to be sold in order to provide the means of bringing greenbacks to par, and thus destroying or reducing to a very low point the desire for redemption in coin, excepting for purposes of export. The banks would have no more difficulty in adapting themselves to specie payments than the rest of the community. If legal-tenders were as good as gold, there would be no hardship in compelling payment in gold as now in legal-tenders; but with regard to them, as with regard to the Government and private citizens, the success of the change depends almost wholly on the length of time allotted for it, and it would be a great mistake to make this too short. If five years are fixed, it will serve the purpose as well as two, and be much safer, and will be sure to bring about the desired result without shock; for what is needed is not so much the fixing of a *near* day for our return to the right paths, as *some* day certain.

The observation which nine persons out of ten have probably made on seeing the "Memorandum," is that it ought to have been issued on the 4th of June, 1869, instead of last Thursday. It is a document which General Grant ought to have presented to Mr. G. S. Boutwell instead of Mr. Jones. Had he then informed Mr. Boutwell that there must be a day fixed for the resumption of specie payments, and that it ought not to be more than two years distant, and that his first care must be the redemption of the greenbacks, and that enough revenue must be raised or enough money borrowed to provide coin for that purpose, and that the Treasury must be managed with reference to this plan; and had he enforced this same idea in his communications to Congress, there is hardly a doubt that by this time we should have been back once more on a specie basis, and should have avoided the panic and the excesses in railroad building in which it originated. Instead of which, he simply made mild references in his messages to the desirableness of specie payments, and handed the Treasury over to Mr. Boutwell to do with it as he pleased; and what he pleased to do we have all seen. This might have been excusable if Mr. Boutwell had been an experienced financier, or had any financial reputation whatever. But he was simply a politician. His sole claim on the office was his having organized the political machine called the internal-revenue service, and even what his share in this amounted to, was never exactly known. Such as he was, however, he was allowed for four years, and until he chose to betake himself to something else, to play such tricks with the national credit as his fantasies or political necessities suggested, until he finally reached such a pitch of audacity that he issued paper-money on his own responsibility, and found no difficulty when he retired in leaving such a pupil as Mr. Richardson in his place.

There would be little use in dwelling on all this, except in so far as it furnishes general political instruction, if it were not for the important influence which it has had on the relations of Congress and the President to the country. It is very desirable, everybody will admit, that Congress should originate legislation, and that the people should expect it to do so, and should place implicit reliance in its honesty and sagacity, and that it should faithfully reflect public opinion in its best moods. It is very desirable, too, that the people should not get into the way of looking to the President, or any other man, for defence against its own representatives, and that the national honor, at least, should not have to be saved from a bill by a veto. All such occurrences are destructive in some degree of the popular reverence for law and law-makers, and any diminution of this reverence is a great misfortune. But the Treasury should be, as

it is in all civilized countries, in the hands of a man capable of making suggestions that the legislature will and ought to heed on financial subjects. Since Mr. McCulloch our Treasury has not been in such hands. The Executive has kept control of it, but has refrained from the recommendation of any policy to which Congress or the people might attach itself. The result is that we have drifted from bad to worse, until, there being nobody at the helm, the disorderly, and ignorant, and unscrupulous element in our politics mustered courage enough to attempt to seize the ship and engage in piracy, and we have been saved from this by a sort of *coup de main* on the part of the captain, who till now has been apparently asleep. The events of the last six months have discredited Congress greatly, in spite of the ability of the minority, and have exalted the President, although the crisis was really brought about by his five years' neglect of his duty and abuse of his powers. Of course, there is allowance to be made for his ignorance of political economy, which every one of his messages has revealed. As the world goes, this was no discredit to him, but it is a discredit to him to have entrusted the management of the national finances to another person whom he had no reason to suppose better informed than himself. Everybody can see the danger of protracting a state of things in which the legislature is an object of distrust and derision and hostility on the part of the intelligence and property of the nation, and in which they turn to "the one-man power" for safety and deliverance. It is a state of things which develops very rapidly into serious and permanent disease, and it behoves the constituencies to remedy it as soon as possible.

#### HOW SHALL WE GOVERN THE NATIONAL CAPITAL?

IT is not two years since we called the attention of our readers to the new experiment of city government then being tried at the National Capital. We showed then that the constitution of the territory (or the charter of the city, as people might prefer to call it) contained "as many checks and balances as could well be put upon paper," but that it also contained the inherent vice of all American city corporations, that "taxes are imposed without the consent of those who pay them," and that practically the "people" who were to pocket the money voted the city into debt, while "the people" who were to pay the debt voted against incurring it. Finally, we added that our readers might "profitably watch how far the feelings and convenience and interest of a city community might be outraged under the official eye of the President and within the legislative hearing of Congress."

It now appears by the Washington correspondence of the New York papers that the new District government is to be overturned, and that the chief difficulty existing in the minds of our national legislators is to determine what they will do with the National Capital. During the interval, the experiment has reached two results. On the one hand, it cannot be denied that Governor Shepherd has made good his boast of making the city the most beautiful in this country. So far as the grading, paving, and laying-out the streets are concerned, Washington is certainly a very beautiful city. The old difficulties of immense roadways too wide to be paved or cleaned, deep in mud during one-half of the year, and during the remainder hidden by clouds of dust, have been admirably conquered. The pavements of wood and concrete, whether fraudulently contracted for or poorly built, extend for miles in every direction, making the pavements of other American towns appear by contrast barbarous affairs. The carriageways of the streets have been narrowed, the sidewalks moved out into what was formerly the carriageway, and the former sidewalks thrown into lawns in front of the houses. From being a city pre-eminently destructive to horses and carriages, where pleasure-driving was almost unknown, it has become one most economical for the owners of vehicles and most delightful for those who are able to enjoy pleasure-driving. The improvements have also attracted to Washington a respectable class of winter residents, who formerly held it in great contempt. The American citizen who once made his pilgrimage there in awe and came back in disgust, now does what he should have done for the last fifty years, speaks

with becoming pride of the National Capital, and feels not indisposed toward having the country at large do something toward perfecting a city in which every American is more or less interested. On the other hand, the territorial government has broken down, its debt is enormous, and its accounts in such confusion that the amount is unknown. Taxes are onerous and discriminating, contracts are unperformed, and school teachers unpaid. Congress has awakened to the fact that the National Government, instead of the people of the District, is wholly responsible for the unknown debt and largely for the onerous taxation.

The truth of this last observation will be apparent when it is perceived that this debt has been contracted by a board known as the Board of Public Works, which, to all intents and purposes, has been the government of the District. Through the ignorant negro voters, its employees, amounting to about a fifth of the voting population, it has controlled the elective branch of the legislature, and has also in the most unrestrained manner contracted a debt irrespective of all legal limitations. It is an agent which has encumbered all of the real property in the District, and the owners of this property have been asking the question, Whose agent is it? The organic act creating this District government provides that the Board of Public Works shall be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. It cannot be regarded as the agent of the people of the District, who had nothing whatever to do with its creation and nothing whatever to do with the appointment of its members. As the debt has swelled and the irresponsibility to the taxpayers of the District has become more apparent, the feeling of alarm has so increased that Congress has been compelled to investigate; and while no one knows what form the result of the investigation will take, it is generally conceded that this irresponsible power must come to an end. It is also felt, though hardly yet expressed, that the General Government, which assumed the responsibility of creating and appointing the Board of Public Works, must share if it does not shoulder the load of debt which the Board will leave behind it.

The "seat of the Government" is not a commercial or manufacturing town. It is simply what it was designed to be—a dwelling-place for the National Government. A large proportion of the persons who reside there do not call it home; a large proportion of those who own houses and live there are, in a legal sense, non-residents, who "go home" to vote in the State where they legally reside. It is apparent, therefore, that the ordinary responsibility which rests on a city community to take care of its own affairs only partially rests upon the mixed community at the seat of Government, while it is indisputable that persons connected with the Government should find in Washington a desirable place of residence. It is, in short, a matter of national interest, as well as of national pride, that Washington be improved, beautified, and kept clear of debt.

The non-residents who hold property there embrace not only every class of public officers, from the Vice-President and Chief-Justice of the United States down to the naval ensign on waiting orders and the clerks in the executive departments, but also respectable and cultivated persons not connected with the Government, whose influence is nevertheless most desirable in the official circles. Such non-residents, official or unofficial, it is plain, do not now share the ordinary responsibility of a city community, and they require some further guarantee of reasonable taxation than the present right of suffrage which they cannot enjoy. It is most desirable that every facility be given for this temporary property-holding. It is not easy to say how much of the great demoralization of Washington is due to hotel life; and it is demonstrable that all the homes and families in the country have suffered because so many men connected with the Government have been cut off from the restraints of family and home-life. The Board of Public Works therefore may have been of some service, not only in making the city habitable, but in unfolding the intermingling relations of the temporary residents and of the people of this country generally in the National Capital.

So far as the distribution of powers on paper is concerned, it may be doubted whether they will be better distributed than they now are in this District government. The Executive, the upper branch of the legislature, and the Board of Public Works, have been appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate; the lower branch of the legislature has been elected by the inhabitants. The Governor has not been able to appoint his creatures on the Board of Public Works; the Board of Public Works has not been able to raise money except through the legislature; the legislature has come from two distinct sources, the Executive of the nation and the people of the District. Yet, with all these checks and balances, the Board of Public Works has controlled the contractors, the voters, the legislature, and even the Senate and President. It has plunged the District into debt, and has so misapplied funds that Congress has been compelled to step in and advance money to pay the unfortunate school-teachers. The trouble has not been in the distribution of powers, but in granting power where there was no responsibility, and in withholding power from those directly affected by the municipal misgovernment. The late Chief-Justice of the United States, though a property-holder, residing eight months of the year at Washington, could not vote because his legal residence was in Ohio. Six thousand ignorant negro laborers, called in from the surrounding country by the Board of Public Works to the eight hours and loafers of city life, living in cabins and barracks, and knowing no one but the contractors who employ them, could effectually saddle a debt upon the Chief-Justice's property. With such childishness as this for the foundation upon which this paper safeguard rests, it is evident to any rational mind, and sadly demonstrated by the experience of the community, how utterly worthless the safeguard must be.

The prominence of these mixed elements of ownership in the population of Washington affords an unusual pretext for the introduction of some rational common-sense into the formation of its municipal government. In no other instance has the legislative power so clear a case as has Congress here for abandoning the mediaeval idea of a European free city, and recognizing the plain fact that the object of a city corporation is simply the management of certain public property, consisting chiefly of streets, alleys, docks, and public buildings, and that its management should be controlled by the responsible and not by the irresponsible portion of the people who chance to dwell there. All of the real legislation for the District of Columbia now emanates from Congress, and the territorial government is nothing more than a board of directors to manage the corporate affairs. The fact that no political powers are delegated to it had better be recognized, and the corporate powers had better be vested in the real corporators—that is, in the persons who own the city and pay its expenses. The fact must also be recognized that the General Government, or rather that the people of the United States, form the largest property-holder, and that they must contribute to the expenses and should possess a share in the management of the corporation. All property-holders ought to be allowed to vote, irrespective of their political residence, and that fluctuating portion of the population which has no more interest in the management of the city than the passengers on a railway train have in the management of a railway, ought to be excluded from electing the corporate directors. The General Government being the largest property-holder, but being unable to go to the polls with the other corporators, and having a peculiar interest in the advancement and improvement of the city irrespective of its property, should have a direct part in the administration of the municipal affairs through certain officers, such as the Commissioner of Education, the Commissioner of Public Buildings, the Surgeon-General, the Chief-Engineer, and the like. Such a system would be rational because it would be just. But a form of corporate government which, like the present one, would commit the rights of the corporators to the care of the President; or which, like the old corporations of Washington and Georgetown, would commit the interest of the people of the United States in their National Capital to the legal

residents; or which, like both, would allow that part of the community who own nothing to manage the property of the part who own everything, would contain such elements of injustice and incapacity that it could not effect the desired objects in the future any better than they have been effected in the past.

#### THE SITUATION IN FRANCE.

PARIS, May 22, 1874.

A YEAR has not yet elapsed since the Due de Broglie defeated the government of M. Thiers, and he is now defeated in his turn. France seems to have lost the feeling, the instinct of conservatism; or, wherever it still exists, it assumes the barren form of clericalism and divine right. The Commune is forgotten, and the sun shines on the ruins of the Tuilleries. The escape of Rochefort was learned almost with pleasure; it seemed like a chapter in one of Gaboriau's novels. The Due de Broglie had become unpopular, and nobody could tell you why. The *Figaro* some time ago sent a reporter to the Duke's son, to enquire into all the particulars of his father's life. The editor wished to publish a sensational *portrait* of the Prime Minister; the Duke's son did not like to be interviewed, and quietly told the reporter that his father dressed, shaved, ate, and went to bed very much like other people. *Inde ira*: some people hated the Duke because he was a duke; some others, because he was not Legitimist enough for a duke. Now he is down, and in four days there is already a strong reaction in his favor. "He is nobly fallen" is a word which comes from many lips.

The Conservatives who placed MacMahon in power had the hope of fending him, as it were, behind constitutional laws, but these constitutional laws are still unmade. Everything seems therefore unsettled and uncertain; it was not the Due de Broglie who was most defeated last Saturday, it was the cause of parliamentary institutions. The fifty Legitimists who voted against a government which they had helped to make, are the sons of the men who deposed Martignac and the first Due Decazes, and who urged Charles X. to make the famous *ordonnances* and to violate the *Charte*. The twenty Bonapartists who united with the Republicans and the ultra Legitimists against the Due de Broglie, are the avowed enemies of parliaments and of ministerial responsibility; their ideal government is a military emperor, with merely consultative chambers, supported by the direct votes of the people. The permanent organization of parties which is necessary for a free government, does not exist here; parties are like shifting sands, and they do not aspire merely to assume power under a recognized sovereign or president, they hope to change the government itself. It seemed as if the Septennat, which was a sort of seven years' truce, could be accepted by all parties, as there are as many as three, or even four, and a coalition can always be formed on the question of the definitive form of government. The conduct of the ultra-Legitimists can hardly astonish those who know the horror professed by that party for the Republic, and its complete obedience to the dictates of the Comte de Chambord. The newspapers of the Extreme Right had warned the Due de Broglie. They did not much like even what we now call the personal Septennat—that is, the Septennat of the Marshal—but they were determined to resist an impersonal Septennat, one which would be legally succeeded by another, as they saw in the organization of the transmission of the republican power a decided step towards the Republic.

The conduct of the Bonapartists is more extraordinary, and their evident object is merely to create a sort of political deadlock. Some time ago, a meeting took place at Chiselhurst between the principal Bonapartist leaders, the Empress, and the Prince Imperial. The question under discussion was the conduct which was to be adopted with regard to the Septennat. After this council, M. de Saint Paul, who was a high functionary in the Home Office under the Empire, was sent to Marshal MacMahon and gave him this message: "The Prince Imperial has ordered all his friends not only to support but even to increase your authority, so far as it is personal; the Prince knows the Marshal too well not to trust in his good faith, and to be persuaded that he will not use this increased authority against the Imperialist party any more than against the other parties." The Marshal attached so much importance to this message that he repeated it to the Cabinet; and, strange to say, not a single minister made any remark or found anything to say to these direct communications between the Prince Imperial and the President, who is the nominee of the Chamber which, by a unanimous vote at Bordeaux, pronounced the *déchéance* of the Bonaparte dynasty. By voting against the Due de Broglie, the Bonapartist deputies probably do not consider that they have broken the pledge offered by the Prince Imperial; they say that they did not vote against the Marshal, but merely against his ministers. In my opinion, the lenity of the Due de Broglie towards the Bonapartists, who now turn against him, has been the principal fault of his ad-

nistration. Not only did he give in his Cabinet two portfolios to this party—the finance department to M. Magne, who had been Minister of Finance under Napoleon III., and who still lives in a house given to him by that sovereign; and the War Department to General du Barail, who is not a professed Bonapartist, but who does not conceal his contempt for parliamentary institutions—but he filled the administration, the prefectures, the sub-prefectures, and the municipalities with the old supporters of the Empire. He thought himself in duty obliged to maintain a perfect balance between all the parties which had placed him in power; he did as much for the twenty Bonapartists of the Chamber as for the Right, composed of a hundred and fifty deputies, and for the Orleanist Right-Centre, which numbers two hundred. But there can be no such impartiality in politics; the Duc de Broglie acted as the President of the United States would have done if, immediately after the war, he had allowed his patronage to be equally divided between the Union men and the defeated Secessionists. We must suppose that in doing so he did not ignore the perils of such a policy; we do not know how far he felt himself bound by the personal sentiments of Marshal MacMahon. The Empire can hardly have left the same impression on the Duc de Broglie, who was in opposition, and the lucky general who became a marshal, was made a duke by Napoleon, and who fell with him at Sedan. At any rate, all the sacrifices which the Duke made to the old Bonapartist party have proved useless; they turned against him at the first opportunity, and they overthrew him, just as they had done a year before.

It seems as if this so-called Constituent Chamber was completely unable to make constitutional laws. When M. Dufaure and M. de Rémusat brought before the Chamber the republican constitution which they had prepared with M. Thiers, M. Thiers found the majority of the Chamber against him. The Duc de Broglie now brings a law on a Second Chamber, which he calls the High Council, thus avoiding the Imperialist name of Senate, and he meets at once the opposition of the Chamber. The Assembly lives in a purgatory and cannot come out of it. For four days great efforts have been made towards the constitution of a new Cabinet, but the fundamental difficulty will remain the same. A Cabinet without a programme would be tantamount to a profession of impotence, and could only prepare the dissolution of the Chamber; and a Cabinet with a definite programme cannot get assured of a majority. We hear every day, and almost every hour, of some new combination; but one single idea has entered the minds of the people: the Chamber cannot use its constituent powers, it had better dissolve. It may even dissolve before a new electoral law is made, for the extreme Legitimists are in favor of election by general ticket, and do not, any more than the extreme Republicans, approve the plan of the vote by arrondissements; and the Bonapartists have always come before the people as the great apostles of the doctrines of universal suffrage. M. Thiers is very anxious that the dissolution should take place soon; for he will offer himself in many colleges, under the system of the general ticket, and he hopes to provoke a sort of *plébiscite* in his favor, which will make him a republican emperor and oblige Marshal MacMahon to retire before him.

The position of the Marshal has become critical since the downfall of the Duc de Broglie, for the law which instituted the Septennat made the Marshal completely dependent on the Chamber, till the constitutional laws should define his prerogative. But what if no constitutional laws are made, and if this Assembly, of which he is the delegate, vanishes? What will become of his power? He will remain, so to speak, in the air, the delegate of a dead Chamber, and facing a living Chamber who will perhaps not know him. You cannot give to anybody a tenure of property for a number of years without giving a strict definition of the tenure. The Septennat, left without a prerogative, without constitutional laws, without any roots, exposed to all the caprices of public opinion, to all the passions of an Assembly, will either disappear or will be tempted to affirm itself in an independent fashion. Already the poisonous word of *coup d'état* is whispered in many places; and it seems to many as if force alone could cut the Gordian knot.

The state of the present Assembly is truly pitiful. It never could do what it wished to do, and the most painful tasks have been imposed on it. At Bordeaux, it was obliged to submit to a peace which cost France two provinces and five milliards; it threw itself into the arms of M. Thiers, and M. Thiers, instead of immediately proclaiming a definitive form of government, which would have (for many years, at least) been the best defence against the Empire, organized, under the name of "the pact of Bordeaux," a system of government which allowed the Imperialist party to revive and to be placed gradually on the same footing with all the others. The Assembly had hardly arrived in Versailles when its authority was contested, and the Commune for two months astonished the world by its audacity and its horrors. The Chamber soon found that M. Thiers was determined to make the defi-

nitive Republic, notwithstanding his promises of impartiality at Bordeaux. After the 24th of May, the reconciliation of the two branches of the house of Bourbon gave the Assembly a fair hope of the restoration of a constitutional monarchy; but the declarations of the Comte de Chambord destroyed this hope. The Assembly determined then to form merely a conservative and expectant government, and now it can no longer give to this government the support of constitutional laws. It has been disappointed in all its ambitions, in all its projects, in all its affections; and when impartial history shall study its tragic and sad history, it will hardly know on whom to fix the most blame. It will probably say that, by his eager desire to establish his personal power, M. Thiers lost the best opportunity which could have been offered of proclaiming a constitutional monarchy, and that the Comte de Chambord wilfully destroyed all the chances of such monarchy, already much weakened by the desertion of Thiers and of his old parliamentary adherents. Time only will show if this double influence will help the cause of the Republic or the cause of the Empire. But I could not help being struck with what a Russian statesman said to me yesterday: "France has again flung herself into the region of adventures, and all adventures lead her to the Empire, which has always been and will continue to be the most colossal of adventures."

## Correspondence.

### THE NATIONAL SURVEYS AGAIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

Sir: In the contest going on in Washington as to who shall have the direction of national scientific surveys, a petition relating to the matter was forwarded signed by several of the professors in this institution. Although I was not the originator of this petition, I signed it and aided it in such way as I could, and as it has been so often referred to in the public press and its object misunderstood, I ask through the *Nation* a word of explanation for myself and other signers.

As is known to your readers, national scientific surveys in the interior have lately been going on independently under the direction of the War Department and of the Department of the Interior. Both of these departments wish to continue the work and are before Congress for the necessary means. Each claims that such surveys are needed by the department itself, and should be conducted in such ways as shall best meet its wants as well as the wants of the public. The recent movement looked towards placing all the interior geological and other surveys under the exclusive direction and control of the War Department. Because of such movement we petitioned. The petition was not signed by all our scientific professors, and those who did had no desire to express either praise or censure on any of the existing surveys, whether controlled by either the War or Interior Department. We did not and do not consider our action as casting any reflection on the War Department or its officers, or its work, or the way by which it does this work, nor did we have even a suspicion that it would be regarded as "an attack on West Point," either direct or implied. We believe that the explorations and surveys in the interior conducted by the War Department or its officers, extending as they do from the expedition of Lewis and Clark to those of Lieut. Wheeler, almost continuously for seventy years, have been peculiarly rich in scientific results. The ability, zeal, courage, and fidelity with which many of them have been performed are too well known to need comment. But while freely granting all this, and having prominently in mind as some of us did geological and scientific surveys other than topographical, we could see no reason why the Department should have the added and exclusive power proposed.

The government of nearly every civilized country has ordered some kind of geological survey, but we are not aware that any one of them has given its control entirely into the hands of the army. Moreover, nearly all the States of this country have at some time ordered geological or natural-history surveys. We are not aware that any State has thought it wise to restrict the direction of its surveys exclusively to men of military education. What seems to us so obviously to have been the judgment of the States we believe to be best for the nation also.

Not a single one of the signers of this petition had any personal complaint to make against any army officer connected with any scientific survey. Several of us gratefully acknowledge ourselves as under personal obligations to officers of the army for generous and zealous co-operation given us in the prosecution of scientific work whenever and wherever solicited. But we did not and do not think it is for the best interests of science that the sole direction of all geological and other scientific surveys in the interior be

concentrated exclusively in their hands. This was why we petitioned, and not to ask for any diminution of their existing powers.—Yours respectfully,

W. H. BREWER.

YALE COLLEGE, NEW HAVEN, CONN., JUNE 3, 1874.

[We find it necessary to say that the editorial note appended to the letters which we published last week about the direction of the national surveys was not intended, in the remotest way, to cast any reflection on any civilian scientific man now employed by the Government. We simply wished, while admitting the force of one objection made to the position taken to our preceding article, to explain that in claiming the surveys for civilians we had no idea of releasing the Government from all restriction in making its selection, or of advocating the opening of the field to all male citizens, as one of our correspondents seemed to imagine.—ED. NATION.]

#### MR. D. A. WELLS AND THE INCIDENCE OF TAXATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Wells's paper, read before the Social Science Association, is calculated to secure general attention as a strong and in the main a fair statement of the deficiencies and incongruities of the existing scheme of State and municipal taxation. These faults are so evident, and, when applied to a body of taxes which collect upwards of three hundred millions annually, produce such undeniable injustice between citizens, and work such extensive injury to trade, that some of the commercial and manufacturing States may yet be driven, in a choice between evils, to the adoption of Mr. Wells's plan, which would confine taxation to "tangible property and fixed signs of property." Meanwhile, the investigation into the defects of the present system cannot fail to be of use, either in the amendment of that system or the substitution of a better. But when Mr. Wells seeks to give to his plan of a State and municipal revenue, to be derived through the taxation of a limited portion of the property of the State and of the city, a scientific basis, by assuming as axiomatic the diffusion of taxes proportionately and equitably throughout the community, by the natural course of exchange, we think he seriously misrepresents the tendency of modern economical thought.

The doctrine is not a new one. In his speech on the resolution asserting the right to tax America with which the Ministry in 1766 sought to cover its retreat from the stamp-tax, Lord Mansfield asserted the entire indifference of the place of imposition. "I hold it to be true," he said, "that a tax laid in any place is like a pebble falling into and making a circle in a lake, till one circle produces and gives motion to another, and the whole circumference is agitated from the centre." This image of Lord Mansfield, though quite otherwise meant, is perhaps the most perfect which could be adduced against the theory of the uniform diffusion of taxation. The whole circumference may, it is true, be agitated from the centre, but the violence of that agitation will diminish at every successive point from centre to circumference. Even were the water of the lake "mathematical water," a perfect fluid, with absolute mobility and elasticity, it would still be true that in the natural course of radiation the impulse received by every drop would be inversely as the square of its distance from the centre. But inasmuch as no chemist has yet been able to obtain by filtration or distillation so much as a pint of mathematical water for the pettiest laboratory experiment, it happens that when an actual pebble is dropped into an actual lake the impulse is lost even more rapidly than is implied in the mathematical law of radiation.

The only tenable position respecting the incidence of taxation is that stated by Thorold Rogers, viz., "that taxes tend to remain upon the person who immediately pays them; or, in other words, that it requires an effort, which is made with varying degrees of ease or difficulty, to shift a tax which is paid by the first payer to the shoulders of another" ('Cobden and Public Opinion,' pp. 83, 84). In the statement that an effort is made is implied the fact of resistance; and resistance is indeed everywhere opposed to the propagation of the impulse of taxation. That resistance may be powerful, intelligent, tenacious, or it may be weak, ignorant, spasmodic. Hence the "varying degrees of ease or difficulty" of which Prof. Rogers speaks. In other words, while every man who is taxed makes an effort to throw the whole or a part of the burden upon another, that other makes an effort—it may be more decided; it may be less decided; it may be from a position of advantage; it may be from one of disadvantage—to prevent him from doing so. The result will depend on the relative strength of the two parties; and as the two parties to this contest are never the same in the case of two taxes, or two forms of the same tax, it must make a difference upon what

subjects duties are laid, what is the severity of the imposition, and at what stage of production or of exchange the tax is collected.

Nor is the range from the highest effect to the lowest inconsiderable. It often happens that one class of producers or exchangers, having a position of economical advantage, will not only repay themselves out of the general community for the whole amount of special taxation to which they are subject, but will also revenge themselves for the annoyance, in the shape of delay or inquisition, by heavy additional charges upon consumers. It is not often that such a class can indemnify itself so liberally as did the horse-railroad companies during the war; but, in a degree, this overcharge of taxation upon the general community is sure to occur wherever the class directly taxed are in a position of economical superiority.

As a recent illustration, we extract the following paragraph from a letter of the Paris correspondent of the London *Economist* having reference to the effect on retail prices of the late augmentation in the excise duties:

"For one and a half centimes per litre on wine, the rise has been a sou or five centimes; for five centimes per litre on brandy, cafés charge an additional sou per glass, equal to two francs per litre; for a centime and a half per pound of sugar, five centimes additional are charged; while for coffee the three centimes per pound become twenty, or a sou per quarter for the working-classes, who purchase in small quantities."

The writer remarks: "Prices will no doubt eventually recover their balance." This may prove so; it may prove otherwise. So long ago as the issue of the first edition of his 'Political Economy,' Mr. Mill wrote: "I believe it will often be found in Continental Europe that prices and charges of some or of all sorts are much higher in some places than in others not far distant, without its being possible to assign any other cause than that it has always been so." Since this was written, Prof. Cairnes, Mr. Ollerenshaw, Prof. Rogers, Sir Bartle Frere, and others have drawn attention to similar phenomena, on a large scale and extending over large periods, in early England, in India, and in Australia. The power of custom in regulating prices, wages, and rents, is only second to that of competition, while in some countries custom dominates almost unchecked, the effects of competition being reduced to a minimum. Ireland is perhaps the only country in the world where competition alone has determined rents. Prof. Rogers, an ardent advocate of land reform, admits that custom and public opinion have left rents in England below the point to which competition unhindered would have carried them. In Italy, local usage respecting land has proved for many a generation more imperative than the accepted "laws of trade," while in India competition, as an element in the problem of rents, may be said to disappear entirely.

It is undoubtedly true that freedom of movement and of contract, absence of an hereditary pauper class, and the ever-open resort to agriculture, go far to constitute our own people an exceptionally good medium for the transmission of economical force; but even were human nature to be perfected within finite conditions, it would still remain true that taxation would fail to diffuse itself with absolute equity through the community; while in the highest social and industrial state yet attained by men, the inequalities of taxation, on any other scheme than that of levying upon the whole of each man's income, or the whole of each man's accumulated wealth, must remain serious and oftentimes oppressive.

We cannot regard Mr. Wells as fortunate in his illustrations of the diffusion theory: "If taxes," he says, "are assessed primarily upon Mr. Astor, he adds them to his rents; if upon Mr. Stewart, he adds them to his goods; if upon Mr. Vanderbilt, he adds them to the price of his capital, whether sold on the street or invested in railroads." As Mr. Wells proposes that Mr. Stewart shall not be taxed upon his stock of goods, or Mr. Vanderbilt upon his stock of money, we will only consider the case of the landlord.

Taxation being confined to "tangible property and fixed signs of property," an owner of real estate in the city of New York would necessarily be charged more heavily than under the present mixed system. The first question naturally arising is that which Mr. Wells answers with confidence in the affirmative: Will the proprietor reimburse himself for his excessive contributions to the public revenue through increased rents charged to his tenants? The second question, which Mr. Wells does not fairly meet, is quite as important, viz.: Will this reimbursement be accomplished equitably, as between the several individuals or classes found among the tenants?

As to the first point, inasmuch as a proprietor of real estate in a crowded and rapidly growing city is in a position of marked economical advantage, the quantity of land being absolutely limited, while the demand for land necessarily increases in some ratio to the increase of population, we agree with Mr. Wells that the landlord in question will reimburse himself for the additional burden laid upon him; indeed, we are disposed to believe that he may more than make himself good, charging a profit, as importers are

supposed to do alike on the cost of their goods and on the duty paid. In the latter case, the equity of taxation is quite as seriously impaired as if the landlord were, in a degree corresponding, unable to recover his advances to the Government.

But it is in respect to the second point that the theory of Mr. Wells must undergo its real trial. The proprietor of real estate standing in a certain position of advantage or disadvantage towards his tenants, do they occupy towards him a position of economical advantage which can be taken as equal among themselves individually or in classes? Can we assume them to be alike in the ability to seek the best market, to move family and property to the most favorable location, to secure the benefits of credit for a temporary provision? The landlord will of course seek to throw his burden upon his tenants; are they equally well situated and qualified for defending themselves against an unjust imposition? To ask these questions is to answer them. Families of means who are disposed to resent the raising of their rents can move over to New Jersey or Long Island; they can go up into Westchester or Connecticut. But the laborer with a large family, small means, and no credit, bound moreover to infallible punctuality in attendance at his work at an early hour every morning, may be utterly unable to remove. He must take the terms offered him, and will in consequence pay a higher rent and live thereafter a little more meanly in all other respects. The proprietor thus, if he finds it impossible to reimburse himself out of the better class of his tenants who can run away, will make himself good at the expense of those who cannot run away. To deny this is to deny that the effort of the first payer of taxes to shift his burden may be made with "varying degrees of ease or difficulty," and that the intended subjects of the impositions may be found to possess varying degrees of economical strength and advantage for resistance.

We have said that some of the commercial and manufacturing States may yet be brought to adopt the plan of taxing tangible property only, but it will be in a choice between evils, and not because such a system promises to secure substantial, much less theoretical, equity of taxation. In assuming a uniform diffusion of taxes through the natural course of exchange, Mr. Wells has misapprehended the tendency of modern economical thought on this subject as well as overlooked facts of common observation. G. F.

## Notes.

LEE & SHEPARD announce for immediate publication 'Lord of Himself,' a novel by Francis H. Underwood—an American novel, we may add, of which the scene is laid in Kentucky.—Mr. E. Steiger sends us specimen pages of Part I. of his 'Bibliotheca Glottica,' now going through the press, which he states will be the fullest existing catalogue of works on all the languages of the earth, and which will be sent gratis to those interested in making purchases.—The sale of Senator Sumner's household furniture on Wednesday week was marked by the active competition of friends and relic-hunters. At one extreme, according to the *Tribune*, a worn-out fly-brush brought \$4 50 and ice-cream moulds \$10; at the other, the Senator's arm-chair, an ordinary one turning on a screw, brought \$315. A colored eaterer secured this last, as well as the sideboard (\$200) and dining-table (\$160).—Mr. James Lick of San Francisco is entitled to be called the Peabody of the Pacific Coast. He has just bestowed out of his immense property nearly two millions of dollars on public objects, including a telescope, to be the largest and best in the world, for the observatory at Lake Tahoe (\$700,000); public baths, orphan asylums, the Mechanics' Library, a new school of mechanical arts (\$300,000), the Pioneers' Society, etc., etc. He gives also \$450,000 for "public monuments," over and above \$150,000 for a bronze monument to Francis S. Key, author of "The Star-Spangled Banner," to be erected in Golden Gate Park.—If Mr. Lick's taste in art seems a little peculiar, how shall we characterize that of the gentlemen (one a clergyman and the other a lawyer) who have been instrumental in raising a memorial statue to Mrs. Anna Dutton on Contoocook Island, near Concord, N. H.? This virago (in the ancient sense of the word, if not also in the modern) in 1697 was taken captive by the Indians with twelve others, and escaped by killing ten Indians in the night, scalping them, and bringing the trophies to Boston, where she showed them to Cotton Mather. She is now to be represented by a granite "figure of a woman seven and a half feet high, holding in one hand a tomahawk and in the other the scalps of slain Indians." The monument will be dedicated at Contoocook on the 17th instant.—On Tuesday, the 2d inst., President Grant laid the corner-stone of the American Museum of Natural History on Manhattan Square. The cost of the building, which is borne by the State, will be between five and six million dollars. Prof. Henry, of the Smithsonian Institution, one of the speakers on the occasion,

urged upon the millionaires of this city the duty of endowing a college of discovery in connection with the museum.

—The languid condition of the book-market in England has for some time past not encouraged the attempt to record the latest productions of the English press. Now, however, the publishers' announcements assume a better character, as the following selection will show. But first, one or two books which have already seen the light may be worth noting, namely: 'The Russians in Central Asia,' a critical examination, down to the present time, of the geography and history of that region, by Frederic von Hellwald; 'The Ashantee Campaign,' by Winwood Reade (his *Times* correspondence); 'Coomassie and Magdala,' by Henry M. Stanley, the story of two British campaigns in Africa; 'Eastern Africa as a Field of Missionary Labor,' by Sir Bartle Frere; 'Researches in the Phenomena of Spiritualism,' by W. Crookes; and 'A Biographical Study of Henry Beyle (de Stendhal)' by Andrew A. Paton. Of books to come, the first in importance are, indisputably, Mill's posthumous essays on "Theism" and "Nature"; 'The Last Journals of Dr. Livingstone,' edited by his son, Mr. T. Steele Livingstone; and the 'Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs,' by Mr. Darwin. Next may follow in politico-scientific interest Sir Samuel Baker's 'Narrative of his Expedition to Africa'; Sir Henry Rawlinson's 'Russia and England in the East'; and Sir Fred. J. Goldsmid's 'Telegraph and Travel,' an account of the formation and development of telegraphic communication between England and India. A 'Memoir of Sir Roderick J. Murchison,' by Archibald Geikie, in two volumes; the 'Autobiography, Memoir, and Correspondence of William Godwin,' in two volumes; and the 'Autobiography of Macready,' edited by Sir Frederick Pollard, promise rich material for Scribner's 'Brie-a-Brac Series.' The second Trojan war now raging will doubtless not be allayed by the appearance in English of Dr. Schlissmann's 'Troy and its Remains.' A useful service is to be performed by Mr. Robert Campbell in his 'Outlines of Austin's Lectures on Jurisprudence,' with which Prof. Cairnes's 'Some Principles of Political Economy newly Expounded' will bear being mentioned. Mr. John Fiske's 'Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy' is the most striking theological announcement. Part 6 of Bishop Colenso's 'Critical Examination of the Speaker's Bible Commentary' is to appear simultaneously with Vol. V. of the Commentary itself. With a 'Dictionary of British History'; a 'History of the British People,' by Rev. J. R. Green; Prof. Masson's edition of Milton's Poetical Works, in three volumes; and, last but far from least, the translation, by Clair J. Green, LL.B., of Maetzner's 'English Grammar,' our list draws near its close. We will only add, as having some personal knowledge of its author, the title of a work by Mr. William Lawson, "intended," as the *Athenaeum* states, "to give a candid account of the costliness and the failures, but the ultimate success of his co-operative experiment in agriculture": 'Ten Years of Gentleman Farming at Blennerhasset, in Cumberland.' The democratic nature of this experiment may be inferred from the fact that Mr. Lawson is a brother of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the Radical member of Parliament.

—The Convocation of the London University recently decided, in a thinly attended meeting, by a vote of 83 to 65, to grant degrees to women, who are now admitted to examinations, but only receive certificates. The Convocation is, however, a very large body, and if it had seemed at all likely that any such motion could be carried, the opposition would have been in sufficient force to defeat it, and even now are pretty sure to rescind it. Even as matters stand, the Senate, which is a more conservative body than the Convocation, has still to confirm the change, and after this the Government would have to agree to alter the charter in order to make it operative, so that the women are still apparently some distance from the degrees. Whatever objections there may be to their getting degrees from a university at all are certainly less operative in the case of the London University than of almost any other, for it does not profess to educate either males or females. It merely passes by examination on the quality of education received elsewhere.

—Whatever may at first have been the situation of affairs between the Bowdoin students and the college faculty, the young men certainly exposed themselves at least to the full operation of the law that when two ride a horse one must ride behind. They went into open rebellion and left the faculty but a single thing to do—deal with them summarily. The lower classes of our colleges are to a great extent made up of boys, and good as their intentions usually are, boys are very liable to be swept away by epidemics of hasty, ill-considered, and indeed silly action; but still these students themselves could not really have wished for any other result than that the contest, as they made up the issues of it, should have ended in favor of the faculty. Any other result would by-and-by have been odious in the eyes of even the fiercest of the rebels, and it may be expected that the attitude of the authorities will soon secure a return to good sense on the part of the stu-

dents, and the behavior of the latter earn indulgence from the authorities. A more serious face is given to this *émeute* by an explanation which we have seen in the *Army and Navy Journal*, and not elsewhere. That paper says that the true causes of the trouble have not been expressed in any or all of the reasons and arguments put forward by the students, but that they are to be sought in the history of the college. Until recently, says the writer, the management of the institution has been in the hands of the Orthodox Congregational Church of Maine, and its character has been largely religious; "its boards for the most part," he says, "were composed of men who valued too highly the blessings of peace, and who held the fallacious belief that the nations of the earth should war no more." But the *Journal* is a military paper, and probably its assertion about the clergymen's belief may best be taken with abattement, Congregationalist clergymen being as a rule persons whose fault is not mushiness of moral fibre. What is said further on—namely, that the governing board doubted the propriety of military instruction as a part of the curriculum, and indeed disbelieved in it, we may more readily accept for true. But it is alleged that certain members of the faculty, though willing out of deference to General Chamberlain, the president, to see military drill carried on, were yet lax in enforcing discipline, and that student might with impunity be more neglectful and disorderly in this department than he was ever allowed to be in any other. This surely is a heavy accusation against the good faith of the officers of instruction and government. The writer adds that the insubordinate pupils had the sympathy of large numbers of the alumni, and goes so far as to charge that what encouraged them to revolt was the open hostility to the drill entertained by certain members of the board—a statement which ought to be incredible, and which is of worse omen for the future of the college than half-a-dozen revolts of foolish boys.

—The last number of the *Historische Zeitschrift* (1874, 2) contains a review by Friedrich Kapp of Von Holst's 'Verfassung und Demokratie der Vereinigten Staaten,' in which this competent critic expresses the same high estimate of the book which we have already done. A considerable part of the article is made up of a survey of the previous German literature in this field, in which he mentions with praise Mohl, 'Das Bundesstaatsrecht der Vereinigten Staaten'; Julius, 'Nordamerika's sittliche Zustände'; Talvi (Mrs. Robinson), 'Colonisation von Neu-England'; and, in some respects, Rüttimann, 'Das nordamerikanische Bundesstaatsrecht.' He remarks severely upon the deficiency of the German libraries in our constitutional history and law, mentioning especially those of Berlin, Göttingen, and Munich. Works like Kent's 'Commentaries' are hardly to be found, and "original authorities like the 'American Archives,' complete proceedings of Congress, life and works of renowned statesmen, or even the decisions of the Supreme Court, are of course not to be thought of." There is a good opportunity for our countrymen to make good this deficiency in part by contributing liberally books of this class to the Strassburg Library, for which the well-known bookseller, Mr. Steiger, acts as agent.

—Every one who has read 'Les Misérables' remembers, in the elaborate description of Waterloo, the chapter devoted to Gen. Cambronne and his famous *mot*. It was not uncharacteristic of M. Hugo thus to spread himself on an incident for which there is the very slenderest historical basis. The word in question does not bear translating, being, as has been said, "d'une énergie toute militaire." Some critics have lately followed it up in the Paris *Polybiblion*. According to one, the General said nothing at Waterloo, neither the vulgarity of Victor Hugo nor the pompous substitute for it, said to have been an invention of Châteaubriand's—"La Garde meurt et ne se rend pas" (the Guard dies but does not surrender). Testimony from the General himself, however, is offered at third-hand to this effect, that Cambronne, when asked whether he had ever used the word in question to the English, declared with a show of feeling, "The English shouted to me to lay down our arms, and I answered them, 'Well, come and take them' (Eh bien! venez les prendre!)" This cannot, indeed, be considered conclusive as to the truth or falsity of the Hugo or Châteaubriand version, or indeed as to the fact of any utterance at all; the best and perhaps the only trustworthy witness being the person who heard the *mot* at the time, and in this case he has not yet appeared. There is a classic American legend in which the real saying has been improved upwards instead of downwards as with Cambronne's. Gen. Taylor's famous reply to the summons of Santa Anna at Buena Vista was, in the shape in which it helped him to the Presidency, "General Taylor never surrenders." But this, it is alleged—in perfect keeping with the bluntness of the old soldier, who had nothing in common with the *posing* of the bravest of Frenchmen—was the courteous disguise which the aid who bore the answer gave to the phrase ("of truly military energy")—"Tell him to go to hell!" We observe, by the bye, that in his 'Ninety-Three' M. Victor Hugo, with the genuine colossal Hugo impudence, refers

with great equanimity, and as if it were perfectly true, to the noble tale of the *Vengeur*, which according to the French fable went down with all hands giving three cheers and declining to be rescued by the British enemy, but which in fact went down while the crew were scrabbling into the British boats with all the alacrity in the world.

—An "Etude sur l'Anglais parlé aux Etats-Unis (La Langue américaine)," by M. George A. Barringer, is printed in the March number of *Actes de la Société Philologique* of Paris. "One peculiarity of the Americans," M. Barringer shows us, "is their mania for completely changing the meaning of words; thus, 'to fix' is universally employed in the sense of 'to do.'" And what is still more noteworthy, "the word 'nasty' is often equivalent to 'nice.'" Moreover, "the Americans often substitute the substantive for the verb; for 'I suspect' they say 'I suspicion.' With them, 'to steal' is 'to realise,' and 'to make tracks' means to flee (*fuir*), etc." If the 'Etude' had been written in the American language instead of the French, its readers might "suspicion" that M. Barringer had "realised" nearly all of it from Prof. Schelle De Vere's 'Americanisms'—a book which M. Barringer nowhere mentions. A member of the *Société Philologique* must not be charged with downright plagiarism, but the uniform *accordance* of the French philologue with the American author is certainly very remarkable. Take the following as a specimen. Prof. De Vere and M. Barringer point out some of the corruptions of French names in America:

"Nor have proper names of persons been able to protect themselves. . . . The brave *Bon Cœur*, Captain Marryatt tells us in his Diary, became Mr. Bunker, and gave his name to Bunker's Hill of famous memory; *Pilaudière* was changed into *Peabody*, *Bon Pas* into *Bumpus*, and the 'most unkindest cut of all,' the haughty *de l'Hôtel* became a genuine Yankee under the guise of *Doolittle*."—'Americanisms,' p. 112.

Prof. De Vere goes on—and so does M. Barringer—to speak of Creole-French:

"A curious form under which French still continues in Louisiana and some of the riparian counties on the Mississippi is the *Creole-French*, a dialect or patois, consisting in the main of strangely disguised and disfigured French words, with an admixture of some English and a few genuine African terms. Its grammar has been written, and the learned librarian of Yale College, Mr. Van Name, has examined it philologically, with great success. As it is rapidly passing away, a stanza of a popular *Coonjai* (congé) or minuet . . . may not be out of place here."—'Americanisms,' pp. 112, 113.

To exhibit all the "correspondencies" of this sort, we should be obliged to reprint M. Barringer's whole paper. We give only one more specimen—taking it from the first page of 'Americanisms' and the first page of the 'Etude':

"Mr. Marcy, when Secretary of State, issued a circular to the diplomatic and consular agents of the United States in foreign countries, requiring them to make all communications to his department in the American language. The order excited much comment in England and at home . . . . Did the Americans really have an idiom of their own? or did the order refer to the Choctaw or Cherokee, the Sioux or Comanche tongue? etc."—De Vere, in Preface.

"Il y a quelques années, M. Marcy, secrétaire d'Etat à Washington, adresse aux agents diplomatiques des Etats-Unis une circulaire leur prescrivant de rédiger toutes leur communications à son département en *langue américaine*. Ces instructions donnèrent lieu à de nombreux commentaires, aussi bien en Amérique qu'en Angleterre. Les Américains possédaient-ils donc réellement une langue à eux? ou bien la note de M. Marcy avait-elle en vue la langue choctaw, iroquoise, ou quelqu'autre idiomie indien? etc."—Barringer, §1.

—By the way, the derivation of *Coonjai* from *congé* M. Barringer adopts with as much confidence and as little discrimination as he does other statements in 'Americanisms.' Prof. De Vere got the creole word from the 'Slave Songs of the United States,' where the *Coonjai* is described as "a simple dance, a sort of minuet," and it is immediately added that "the name and the dance are probably both of African origin." Overlooking the un-French diphthong in the first syllable, which involves giving the English value in pronunciation to the *j* in the second syllable, Prof. De

Were probably selected *congé* by ear as the nearest equivalent, without regard to its meaning or want of meaning here. There is, however, in the autobiography of the late Dr. Francis Mason ('The Story of a Working-man's Life,' New York, 1870), a passage on page 174 which seems to throw some light on the etymology of a word confined to the Louisiana negroes. He had come down the river to New Orleans in the spring of 1824, and, one Sunday—

"In the afternoon I went out to the 'Congo Ground,' where the old Congo negroes practised their heathen rites. The exhibition was sufficiently ridiculous, if not amusing. What I saw was singing and dancing, with indescribable contortions and indescribable music from numerous indescribable instruments. I was told the actors did not profess to be Christians, but continued to believe in their original heathenism, and I could not see much to be gained by a conversion to New Orleans Christianity."

Is it too much to suppose that the *Congo* singing and dancing which he saw was the *Coonjai*, of which the "usual musical accompaniment, besides that of the singers, is that furnished by a skilful performer on the barrel-head drum, the jaw-bone and key, or some other rude instrument" ('Slave Songs,' p. 113); together, perhaps, with the now disused contra-dance, called the *calinda*, described by Bescherelle as two lines "avancant et reculant en cadence, et faisant des contorsions fort singulières ['indescribable contortions'] et des gestes fort lascifs" (*Ibid.*)? If it be objected that it is as difficult, by any law of permutation, to derive *Coonjai* from *Congo* as from *congé*, we can only leave the floor to the objector.

#### LEWES'S PROBLEMS OF LIFE AND MIND.\*

IT would be difficult, if not impossible, to assign to the name metaphysics its meaning in modern usage, or to distinguish it from general philosophy and the abstruser parts of the sciences by proper definition; and especially, so far as its method is concerned, to distinguish it from the precepts of method common to all well-conducted speculations. A lack of method, or of many well-grounded canons of research and criticism, appears to be all that truly characterizes it, independently of an enumeration of the special topics and doctrines to which the name is usually given. Its method at any particular epoch in the history of philosophy appears to have been little else than the application of some principal doctrine in it to subsidiary topics, the defence of which against sceptical criticisms, or against other principles of method, has generally been the most distinctive part it has played in the history of philosophy. What is called the "method" of metaphysics is really an essential part of it, considered as a scientific doctrine. For example, the realism of Plato, and the forms of the doctrine held by the Scotist and Thomist schoolmen; Plato's doctrine, that all real knowledge is a kind of reminiscence, with the modern doctrines of innate, transcendental, *a priori*, or intuitive elements in knowledge; Descartes's egoistic basis of philosophical demonstration, and the more recent developments of idealism, are at once parts of metaphysics and principles of method in its procedures. On the other hand, Plato's contributions to the principles of method, in his doctrine of definition and his examples of dialectic art; Aristotle's objections to Plato's realism, which were the foundations of scholastic nominalism, and the ontological or universal axioms on which Aristotle based his theory and precepts of syllogism; his defence of induction as the basis of axioms and the ultimate ground of all truths; and the various precepts of philosophical procedure proposed by Descartes, Bacon, Leibnitz, and by Locke, Newton, and their modern followers, all belong to the general doctrine of method, which, so far from being peculiar to what is now called metaphysics, is really more characteristic of the modern sciences and of the Positive philosophy.

That vague and ill-defined body of doctrine which is none the less distinctly felt by all modern students of philosophy to be in a sort of antagonism to the spirit of the modern sciences and to the Positive philosophy, cannot, therefore, be clearly distinguished by a marked difference of method. Its distinction is really more fundamental, and relates to original motives rather than to differences of method in research. Yet it is true that this distinction of motives affects method very materially, and results in marked differences in modes of thought. Modern metaphysics disregards many points of method deemed essential in the Positive philosophy, not because it is ignorant of them, but because they are seen or felt to be opposed to the vital interests or the main purposes for which metaphysics is studied. When schools of philosophy differ, as they do in the fundamental division of them, in respect to the motives of their questionings or the purposes of their researches, their differences can be rationally accounted for only by recognizing their origins in differences of character in philosophers. Though it may not be strictly true that men are born either Platonists or Aristotelians,

it is certain that those who take the most active part in the philosophical discussions of their day have enlisted early in life in one or the other of the two great schools, inspired predominantly by one or the other of two distinct sets of philosophical motives, which we may characterize briefly as motives of defence in questioned sentiments, and motives of scientific or utilitarian inquisitiveness. The points of method or doctrine which suit either attitude of mind are those it adopts and pursues; and in modern times the notion has come in vogue, and received the sanction of metaphysics, that there are really two independent methods of equal generality, and applicable to two distinct departments of human thought.

It would be futile to classify systems of thought by this distinction in motives, since both sets of motives come into play in every thinker whose doctrines are historical, or the outgrowth of the mutual criticisms of contending sects in the past. Thinkers not uncommonly hold and even advocate, as Mr. Lewes has done, as a Positivist, for many years (in writings which therefore appear in marked contrast to his present work), doctrines derived from the school opposed to that in which they had become really enlisted, either by native character or early influences. This attitude having also the appearance of a judicial one, or manifesting a disposition to find the truth between extreme views, is often consciously assumed, though thinkers arrive at it from opposite positions, and unconsciously bring to it opposite motives of research. These motives would determine, therefore, grounds of division between thinkers who really differ less in fundamental positions, either of doctrine or method, than in *modes of thought*.

Mr. Lewes, in his plea for the higher speculative studies, is so far a metaphysician, or so far retains the effects, in his mode of thought, of the early influences of the Scottish school, that he fails to distinguish the special causes or exigencies of metaphysics from what he generously calls its "method"; though he qualifies it as "irrational." His account of this "method" is extremely vague. Comte had identified the doctrines of metaphysics with the once leading dogmas of realism; the assimilation of abstractions to things, or to self-existent and permanent beings, either material or spiritual, being the common point of departure in these scholastic speculations. But he did so because he believed these dogmas to take their rise from an erroneous but natural tendency of the mind in its earliest use of abstract terms and meanings, or from a vice of language, to which the mind is always prone, and against which the positive or scientific modes of thought and criticism are the only safeguards. With this understanding of the term he rejected metaphysics, both name and thing, from his system of rational studies; and with metaphysics he also condemned the allied studies of logic and psychology choosing to connect what he valued in them with the general science of method, and with that of sociology. The English followers of Comte did not accept the latter reforms of positivism. Logic and psychology still hold their place in English thought, though the decline of strictly logical studies (which began long before Comte) had made itself distinctly felt in the deterioration of British philosophy, and is still very noticeable, notwithstanding the wide and beneficial effect of the publication of Mill's 'Logic' thirty years ago. The rehabilitation of metaphysics, both name and thing, now proposed by Mr. Lewes, appears to him a step in the same direction. He wishes to restore what is valuable and rational in the doctrines and problems of metaphysics to the rank of a distinct science, to which he would give its ancient and honored name.

But, to do this in the interests of true science, it is necessary to exclude from metaphysics the doctrines and problems which are due to its "irrational method"; and he separates these, at least in name, by calling them "metempiries." All that we have to do, he says, is to exclude from the problems of metaphysics the metempirical elements, the questions which in their very form demand more knowledge than experience can furnish—all questions of transcendental origins and conditions—in short, all arbitrary questionings, to which gratuitous assumptions only can be given in answer, and we have left principles and problems that may be properly collected and studied under the name "metaphysics." To these he gives the taking title of "Problems of Life and Mind," a title which tacitly appeals to both of the two sets of motives, scientific inquisitiveness and the sentimental interests, which have hitherto divided the speculative world.

"Speculative minds cannot," he says, "resist the fascination of metaphysics, even when forced to admit that its enquiries are hopeless. This fact must be taken into account, since it makes refutation powerless. Indeed, one may say, generally, that no deeply-rooted tendency was ever extirpated by adverse argument. . . . Contempt, ridicule, argument, are all in vain against tendencies toward metaphysical speculation. There is but one effective mode of displacing an error, and that is to replace it by a conception which, while readily adjusting itself to conceptions firmly held on other points, is seen to explain the facts more completely."

We entirely agree with Mr. Lewes that it is idle to argue against "tendencies," even tendencies to error; for this would be to argue against human

\* 'Problems of Life and Mind.' By George Henry Lewes. First series. The Foundations of a Creed. Vol. I. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1874. 8vo, pp. 434.

nature itself. It is to specific errors that we ought to address our arguments; and we ought, by dividing the tendencies—the erroneous or misdirected from the true, to expose the false ones in their consequences, and thus conquer them. The true and false, or the well and ill directed, are naturally mixed in the speculative tendencies of the mind. To condemn all that has been or is now called metaphysics would therefore, be on the face of it a rash procedure. But to invent a new name merely as a name for the errors or the misdirections in speculation which are involved in its questions, and for the sake only of retaining metaphysics as the name of scientific principles and problems that have been or may hereafter be included in the higher philosophy, is too much in accordance with older metaphysical principles of nomenclature; or, rather, is too much like the older and crude practice of metaphysicians, to be cordially received as a scientific reform. Botanists, zoologists, and chemists have made it evident that a distinction, however clearly defined, is not of value in classification unless it is something more than a distinction. It must coincide with and be of use as a sign of other distinctions—that is, be a mark of the things distinguished by it, in order to have real value in classification.

Mr. Lewes is so far from recognizing, in the rules of philosophizing followed by him, this important modern addition to scientific method, the disregard of which is a chief cause of futile hair-splittings and aberrations, both in science and metaphysics, that he shows in many parts of his book a noticeable lack of familiarity with it. We do not believe that metempirics will ever become a scientific name, and we are quite sure it will not be acceptable to metaphysicians. As a literary invention it is not without merits; and, indeed, the literary merits of the whole book are by far its greatest. "Metempiric" is a good retort to the reproach of the term "empiric," and, as a *ruse de guerre*, not a bad device for dividing the enemy's forces. *Divide et impera* is good strategy; and there is practically much satisfaction in a name. It is upon the associations involved in the term "metaphysics" that the larger division of modern speculative thinkers mainly subsist. To deprive them of their name would, if practicable, take away the apparent defensibility of their last positions, namely, that their "method" is peculiar to their problems; and that the doctrines they maintain, or defend, are safely intrenched in the transcendental mystery of the mind's birth, and are exempt from scientific criticism. "Experience," however, has also come to be a name so much respected that these thinkers, anticipating the movements which would appropriate their title to respectability, have already for some time made a counter movement, and come to hold that the evidence they contend for as ultimate still lies within the province of experience, or is not known beforehand, at least in *actual* consciousness; and to hold that it is not gathered from any but the sources of particular experiences; but that intuitive universal truths are, nevertheless, not *generalizations* of experience, and are not even to be tested and ultimately evinced as such. Induction is allowed only a limited range. Intuition is held to be another and an independent form of experience. This adoption of the word "experience" is in accordance with the time-honored practice in metaphysics of annexing troublesome neighbors, giving a vague and metaphysical expansion to the meanings of hostile words, and thus destroying their critical powers.

The sense in which induction was used by Aristotle and by the best of England's thinkers in the past, as the basis both of the intuitive and the discursive operations of thought, or as being involved in sensible perception and in reflective intuitions, or in rapid, habitual, and instinctive judgments generally, quite as essentially as in formal and consciously guarded or tested generalizations, is the sense in which these thinkers reject induction as the real basis of all truths; and Mr. Lewes, as well as Mr. Spencer, M. Taine, and other late eclectics, weakly and confusedly go along with them—confusedly, on account of the present great deterioration of philosophical language in reference to the questions common to the present time and the old logicians, which the latter treated with a precision of philosophical language unfortunately wanting in the conceptualistic terms and phraseology of the present day. We have grounds of hope, however, that the present phase of vague speculation will soon pass away, and that a generation of thinkers will succeed, trained in so much of the refined and effective terminology and mode of thought of the nominalist logicians as Mill's "Logic" has rescued from oblivion; thinkers who will be able to understand without confusion the nature of axioms.

The fact that axioms are capable of clear, distinct, and adequate statement in language, and are not consciously based on remembered or recorded particulars of experience, but are intuitive or habitual and rapid interpretations of valid meanings in terms; the fact that an axiom may at first be merely one among a thousand early and spontaneous generalizations of the mind; that of these the great majority are overthrown by subsequent experience, while the one which becomes an axiom, meeting with no counter ex-

perience, but, coinciding with all subsequent experience, survives, is strengthened, and becomes habitual; that it becomes so elementary and so fundamental a habit that no other habit or power of thought can oppose it; that it has thus determined our powers of conception as well as our beliefs through experience—these facts are in strict accordance with the Aristotelian doctrine that axioms are based upon inductions, although they are not the results of a formal and consciously guarded procedure in accordance with the canons of inductive logic. In their primary signification and in this connection the terms "induction" and "inductive" refer directly to evidences, and not to any special means and processes of collating and interpreting them. Writers of the sort we have characterized continually confound these two meanings. So, also, they confound the meanings, one valid and the other not so, in the terms "intuition" and "intuitive." Mr. Lewes, after having distinctly contrasted (pp. 342-348) intuitive and discursive judgments, and characterized the former as rapid or habitual inferences, adds shortly afterwards (p. 356) that he does "not wish to be understood as adopting the view that axioms are founded on induction; on the contrary," he says, "I hold them to be founded on intuition. They are founded on experience, because intuition is empirical."

Intuition in its proper meaning of rapid, instinctive judgment, whether in the objective sensible perception of relatively concrete matters, or in the most abstract, differs equally from inductive and deductive *processes of conscious inference*. But there is no contrast or alternative between intuition and induction in reference to ultimate grounds of belief, except in the spurious metaphysical meaning of "intuition"; which Mr. Lewes has, it therefore appears, confusedly adopted, while seeming to hold his former positions as a positivist. Induction in one of its meanings, as a process of conscious generalization, and intuition, as another form of judgment, are only contrasted as *judgments*; the one consciously and the other unconsciously determined, on the occasion of making the judgment, by past particulars of experience. If Mr. Lewes had been a purist in philosophy he might, perhaps, escape from this objection, on the ground that what is meant by the phrase, "grounds of a belief," is not the unconscious but the conscious causes of it; the facts or reasons from which we infer it. What is properly meant, however, by affirming particulars of experience to be the grounds of belief in axioms, is not that these particulars are present individually in memory on every occasion of making such a judgment; but only that they are the proper tests of validity in an ultimate philosophical examination of axiomatic truths; and are, as they occur, the actual and conscious causes of the judgments, and of their growing certitude, and of the growing precision of meaning in the terms by which they are expressed; though individually they are not retained or recalled in memory.

So far, however, are our author's statements from being entitled to careful consideration on the ground of precision in the use of philosophical terms, that by far the greater part of what we should have to say about his book, if we had space to say it, would relate to obscurities growing out of his inattention to ambiguities and vagueness in philosophical language. Thus, he follows a bad late use of the term *à priori*; which properly, and in Kant, means a *logical* ground or cause of knowledge; and he applies the term to inherited, organized, or instinctive tendencies to the association of particulars in experience, or to "aptitudes for thought"; to which Kant properly refuses the name *à priori* (p. 410). Again, from not seeing an ambiguity in the word knowledge, he discovers (p. 405) what appears to him a contradiction in Kant's doctrine; which seems to assert that "all knowledge begins with experience" *à posteriori*, and yet asserts that "some knowledge is antecedent to and independent of experience." Our author surely cannot have failed to meet in his extensive studies with the distinction in metaphysics between the commencement or introduction, and the source (*exordium et origo*), of knowledge; as well as the distinction of actual or present knowledge and that which we are said to possess in memory, although we are not at the time thinking of it. Yet he seems to have forgotten these distinctions. All that Kant maintains is that a knowledge like that of memory, a knowledge *in posse*, of which, as he thinks, experience cannot be the *source*, is involved, and may be recognized, in the actual judgments of experience; but is not recognized *before* experience; or except as a *form* given to the *matter* of experience—a doctrine vague enough, we admit, in meaning, and doubtless gratuitous in fact, but not self-contradictory. In short, Mr. Lewes's book is to us full of illustrations of the importance of improving metaphysics, not as a positive science, but as a dialectic art; an art allied both to logic and to lexicography. There are, indeed, such treatises in existence, which are much less interesting than Mr. Lewes's book. Such treatises are generally, and ought to be, as dry as a dictionary, but do not the less deserve attention, as correctives of the current loose thinking on the most abstract subjects.

## JOHN QUINCY ADAMS'S MEMOIRS.\*

IT has long been known that ex-President John Quincy Adams had begun early in life to keep a diary and had continued it with few interruptions nearly to the end of his remarkable career. The students of American history have looked forward to the publication of this work with no little curiosity, well aware that nothing throws more light upon the history of great events than these portraits of the chief actors in them painted by themselves. Mr. Adams was from boyhood a witness of great events, and from earliest manhood an actor in them. He first saw Europe as son of a commissioner sent to plead the cause of a young republic in the courts of old monarchies. He listened to the conversation of great men when but a boy of eleven, and was already breathing the atmosphere of thoughtful observation when his contemporaries were absorbed by their tops and marbles. His whole life was passed among men. He never had time to be a boy. Education or temperament, or both combined, carried him uncontaminated through the greatest temptations to which youth can be exposed. An honorable ambition, the ambition of rendering great public services and receiving great public rewards, was the only passion to which he opened his heart without reserve.

The diary covers a period of sixty-five years, and was kept with a perseverance which formed one of the most remarkable traits of Mr. Adams's character. When we consider the period of which it treats, the marvellous changes which took place, and the remarkable men who filled the stage, we feel that even an ordinary man's record would possess a strong interest for the student of human events. What must that interest be when the record comes from the pen of an acute observer studying at the fountain-head, and fully aware of the importance of what he was studying! Of the literary character of this diary, there is not much to say. It wants the vivacity which distinguishes the greater part of the French works of its class, though has an air of sincerity which is often wanting even in the best of them. But it is a well-written book, with sufficient propriety of composition to show that it is the production of a man accustomed to good reading and carefully trained to thought and observation. One of its most agreeable characteristics is the high moral tone which pervades it. Mr. Adams's position must have made him familiar with the story of many an intrigue of politics and love which would have given his pages the sensationalism of a fashionable novel. Fortunately, he had too high a sense of moral obligation to record them. He seems to have felt that there is no greater violation of the responsibilities of literature than to make talent and opportunity the excuse for painting in brilliant colors the lives of bad men. "Le style vient de l'homme même," says Buffon in his often-misquoted "Discours." You feel, in reading these pages, that you are following step by step the record of an honorable, a useful, and a laborious life.

Of his early education not much is told either by the author or by his editor. He seems to have had little regular schooling. French he learnt in France as a boy, and under the most favorable circumstances, speaking it every day and hearing it spoken in the common intercourse of life. His Latin and Greek studies suffered many interruptions, yet he seems to have felt their importance, for he tells us that long after his school-days were over he translated two pages of Tacitus every day. For parts of history he had the running commentary of his father's table and his mother's evening circle. The new page was unfolding before him day by day, and throwing its floods of light on the old. If we remember to what class of minds both John Adams and his wife belonged, we shall feel that this was good teaching. There is no school like the daily conversation of a cultivated father and mother in their hours of domestic relaxation. He was employed early in copying diplomatic papers, and enjoyed the best opportunities for making himself familiar with diplomatic forms. He was not yet turned of fourteen when he went with Mr. Dana to St. Petersburg as private secretary. But there was little for American diplomacy to do at the court of the imperious Catherine, and he gave himself up with zeal to the study of the Latin and English classics. Numerous translations still remain to bear witness to his industry. On his way back to the Hague, where his father was Minister, he passed through Sweden and Denmark, an enlargement of his sphere of observation which, without any direct bearing upon his official duties, was an important incident in his intellectual growth.

The knowledge which he was thus assiduously hiving he applied early, and thereby corrected a certain character of desultoriness which, under other circumstances, might have somewhat impaired its value. It was necessary for him to cast about him for a profession, for he had none that would be recognized as a profession in his own country. Had he been a European, he would have easily found employment in the foreign office and risen through the different grades of diplomacy to the highest. But in our Republic there

is no professional diplomacy, and Mr. Adams's natural independence made him feel that he must have a profession not dependent on princes' favors. He resolved to be an American lawyer, and to prepare himself for it by earning his degree at an American college. It took him something less than two years to earn that degree and the second rank in his class. His graduating essay bears witness to the impressions which European experience had made upon his mind. Its subject was "the importance and necessity of public faith to the well-being of a government." Dr. Belknap, then one of the great names of our historical literature, was so delighted with it that he asked leave to publish it in the *Columbian Magazine* of Philadelphia. An unknown hearer was so displeased with it that he made a fierce attack upon it in a Boston paper. Here, then, was one of the elements of professional success. The young candidate for the bar had given proof of his power to awaken attention, and let us not forget that such attention then meant far more than it does now.

Admission to the bar cost him three years more of study, and at twenty-three he opened an office in Boston as attorney and counsellor-at-law. Now came the days of watching and waiting; less tedious, perhaps, to him than to many others who had not his literary tastes to fall back upon. He was fond of history, for he had lived from his childhood in the midst of it. He was fond of political science, which is the essence of history. He was fond also of general literature, and very fond of writing verses. The enforced leisure of his professional apprenticeship was not without its compensations. He found something to do, and was looked upon by his elders as a young man of great promise. Had retainers come in faster, we might have had John Quincy Adams an eminent lawyer, but we should have missed John Quincy Adams the statesman.

The most important fruit, however, of that leisure was that it gave him time for controversy—not the common controversy of questions of a day, but the discussion of fundamental principles. Burke had written his "Thoughts on the French Revolution," Paine his "Rights of Man." Jefferson was known to favor Paine, and Jefferson was Secretary of State. The Vice-President, John Adams, was writing his "Davila." Assuming the title of "Publicola," John Quincy Adams, the expectant lawyer, entered the lists on his father's side, and wrote so vigorously that men supposed "Publicola" to be the father himself. The work spread, finding admirers and opponents in Europe and a translation into French under the title of "Essai sur la Constitution française." It was not hard to see whether such a beginning must lead. We greatly doubt whether his brief-book ever wore to him the same aspect after as before he had signed himself "Publicola." It was a period of strong convictions and bitter expressions of them. Many an old friendship was broken, and many a fireside darkened by the fading of familiar lights. The success of an opponent was believed to be the signal of the loss of the country. We have heard an old lady, who in those days was a little girl, say that when Jefferson was elected she sincerely believed that the country was hopelessly ruined. Many older observers and reasoners than the little girl saw as darkly as she.

Two years had passed since the first appearance of "Publicola" when the more practical Genest question arose. Young Adams had grown stronger in the interval, and proved it by three papers in the Boston *Centinel*, under the signature of "Marcellus," quickly followed by a series under the signature of "Columbus." Washington saw and read them, and made the author "Minister Resident of the United States of America to their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces." The lot of the young man was decided. From that day to the very close of his life his name becomes interwoven with the history of his country. The mission to Holland falls in with the great military struggle of the French Republic. Pichegru and Dumouriez are grand names, and we look upon them with a painful curiosity. Will they die on the battle-field or on the scaffold? There is Moreau, too, whose star has not yet paled before the younger star of Napoleon. The diary of the four years in Holland is full of interest; historical shadows, some great, some small, pass over the stage in swift succession. Vital questions of the day are eagerly discussed. Things which look very simple to us now are still involved in mystery and doubt. How helpless do we feel as the great current rolls on and we find that we have neither been able to guide nor to resist its course. There is an episode in this Holland mission, the episode of a mission to England to take part in the signing of the Jay Treaty. The reader will remember what bitter hostility this treaty awakened at home. Mr. Adams's diary shows amid what unkind feelings it grew into shape in England. It gives us also close-at-hand views of English statesmen, and our respect for them is not augmented. It shows us George III. in his closet, and Mansfield moving with judicial dignity amid the crowd of courtiers. Adams remembers his hostile eloquence, and does not ask to be presented. How he felt about his own part in all these things he tells us in his diary for the 28th November, 1795:

\* "Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, comprising Portions of his Diary from 1795 to 1848. Edited by Charles Francis Adams." Vol. I. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1874.

"The situation of our public affairs lays a weight of anxiety on my mind that is really distressing. The idea of what may depend on my conduct at this moment, not only as respects myself but as it concerns the interest of my country, is oppressive. But the die is cast. Here I must be, spite of my wishes and endeavors. My duty, to the best of my judgment, shall be done; the result must be left to Providence."

This is a high tone, but he lived up to it. Old diplomats tried their wiles upon him. "This foolish talk of his is very intelligible," he writes of one of them. "'I do see to the bottom of this Justice Shallow,' but he knows not me. If I stay here any time, he will learn to be not quite so fond, nor yet quite so impertinent." Is there not a touch of vanity in this measuring of himself with a veteran diplomatist? There may be, but it is to his trusty diary that he confides it.

In the midst of these public duties he has found time for a good deal of profitable reading and for a rigorous discipline of mind. He has found time also for wooing and winning Miss Johnson, with whom he had become acquainted in London. After four years at the Hague, he was transferred to Portugal; but on his arrival in London, on his way thither, found that still another disposition had been made of his services, and that he had been charged with the newly-established mission to Prussia. One of the most interesting circumstances in his residence at Berlin was the development of a decided taste for painting. Perhaps an early acquaintance with Copley, West, and Trumbull may have contributed to it. His taste in sculpture was not good, as his patronage of Persico shows, which gave the National Capitol the worst of its many bad statues. Another interesting page of the diary clears up for us the mystery which has so long lain upon the robbery of Arthur Lee's papers during the war. Mr. Elliot, who was British Minister then, was still residing at Berlin in the same capacity. Suspicion, at the time, had fastened upon him, for to whom could these American secrets be so valuable? One day, in the course of an amicable conversation, Mr. Elliot brought the subject forward, and assured Mr. Adams that the theft was committed by a servant of his, and altogether without his knowledge. Mr. Adams appears to have accepted the explanation.

The mission to Prussia was not very fruitful. In July, 1801, he set sail for home. And here begins the American period of his public life: first, a return to the bar; then, a short term of service in the Senate of Massachusetts; last, a term in the Senate of the United States. When that expired, he was appointed Minister to Russia. We await with expectation the appearance of another volume.

*Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands.* By Charles Nordhoff. (New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.)—Mr. Nordhoff's book of two years ago, 'California for Health, Pleasure, and Residence,' did not perhaps exaggerate the possibilities of that State's future development, but it caused disappointment to persons who went there to seek the objects enumerated in the title. The author has been more guarded in his present work, which is a straightforward account of what he saw during his last trip to the Pacific. It has little rose-coloring, and makes no attempt at literary graces. Many of the chapters will be recognized as having appeared in *Harper's Magazine*. Native wines, fruits, and tobacco; the Chinese as laborers, producers, and victims to Californian prejudices; the "saw-mill country," dairy-farming, sheep-grazing, land-drainage, the Columbia River salmon-fisheries—these are among the subjects which Mr. Nordhoff treats; not exhaustively, of course, but according to the opportunities of an intelligent and honest tourist. Of the prospects of California, he says (p. 121): "The people have not yet settled down to hard work. . . . Men become over-enterprising; a speculative spirit invades even the farm-house. . . . As the population is yet sparse, men are tempted to go from one avocation to another, to do many things superficially, and to look for sudden fortunes by the chances of a shrewd venture, rather than be content to live by patient and continued labor." Yet this State has an unescapable glamour for the traveller, and Mr. Nordhoff says: "California has gifts of nature which form a solid substratum upon which will, in a few years, be built up a community productive far beyond the average of wealthy or productive communities. This is my conclusion after seeing all parts of this State more in detail than perhaps any one man has taken the trouble to examine it." Setting aside, however, the question of the future, Mr. Nordhoff has made a readable account of the present agricultural and other resources of the State. We wish that he had taken the pains to cite some trustworthy estimates of the quality of the California grape, and had told us whether it is the fault of the vines or of the processes of manufacture that have kept the wines of that State from gaining the general favor that was expected for them. We observe, by the way, that Mr. Nordhoff warns every "new settler in the State" not to make wine; the reason being the risk of drunkenness to those concerned in the manufacture. "He runs too many risks with children and laborers, even if he escapes himself."

In passing to his brief description of the Columbia River and Puget Sound, Mr. Nordhoff gives a graphic picture of the Farallon sea-lions: "The small, sloping, pointed head of the creature gives it, to me, a peculiarly horrible appearance. It seems to have no brain. . . . Greed for food is their ruling passion, and the monstrous, lightning-like lunges through the water, the inarticulate shrieks of pleasure or of fury as he dashes after his food or comes up without it, the wild, fierce eyes, the eager and brutal vigor with which he snatches a morsel from a smaller fellow-creature, the reliance on strength alone, and the abject and panic-struck submission of the weaker to the stronger—all this shows him a brute of the lowest character."

In describing the Hawaiian Islands, a country without a future, according to Mr. Nordhoff, he has found a simpler and pleasanter task than in writing of a State of which there are temptations to confound "the future" with the present. He found in that group a charming climate, tropical scenery of a unique and attractive sort, interesting volcanoes and mountains, and a "boundless hospitality" which seems, indeed, quite unaccountable until we learn that there is but one hotel in the whole kingdom. Both foreigners and aborigines, however, still keep up "their old habits of graceful welcome to strangers." "The little inter-island steamer and the schooners are always full of people on their travels; and as they do not have hotel bills to pay, but live with their friends on these visits, there is a great deal of such movement." Mr. Nordhoff makes some good remarks upon the question of annexing the Hawaiian Islands to the United States—a project which would result in nothing better, at least at present, than "a dozen pleasant sinecures and the expenditure of three or four millions of money." He justifies the ancient system of feudal government by the tabu in terms which will startle those who think that Polynesian paganism was an unmixed evil. The tabu was, he says, "a most ingenious and useful device, and . . . you feel surprised that it was not found elsewhere as an appurtenance of the feudal machinery. . . . He who violated a tabu was at once killed. Capital punishment seems to have been an effective restraint upon crime among these savages, . . . probably because it was prompt and because it was certain. One wonders how long the tabu would have been respected had a violator of it been lodged in jail for eighteen months, allowed to appeal his case through three courts, and at last been brained amidst the appeals for mercy of the most respectable people of his tribe, and had his funeral ceremonies performed by the high-priest, and closed with a eulogy upon his character and insinuations against the sound judgment and uprightness of the chief who ordered the execution."

The decay of the Hawaiian population is touched upon intelligently, and attributed in part to the wearing of clothes—a cause which missionaries themselves now admit. But Mr. Nordhoff is in error in saying (p. 105) that the decrease of the population "has now ceased." Another slip may be found at p. 87, where he puts a false etymology into the mouth of the Hawaiian, who, he says, describes himself after a hearty dinner as "'mauna'—a mountain." The word that the Hawaiian uses in such case is *maona*, derived from *ona*, drunk. And an old sailor like Mr. Nordhoff need not have told us (p. 96) that the Sandwich Islands lie to the windward, instead of the leeward, of San Francisco.

*Ariadne Florentina. Six Lectures on Wood and Metal Engraving.* By John Ruskin. (New York: John Wiley & Son. 1874.)—Three only of the six lectures appear in this volume, the first defining the art of engraving, the second showing the relation of engraving to other arts in Florence, and the third discussing the technics of wood-engraving. This last is illustrated by facsimiles of designs by Holbein ("Dance of Death") and Bewick. Mr. Ruskin first marks off in art "the utterly separate provinces, though in contact at their borders, of the Delineators, the Chiaroscuroists, and the Colorists"; and as he assigns the engravers to the first province, he is bound to hold that they have no proper concern with effects of color or of light and shade. "The finest wood-cutting," he asserts, "ignores light and shade, and expresses only form and *dark local color*, and the same is true of fine metal-engraving; in a word, all good engraving whatsoever does so." Accordingly, he even praises Holbein's "Last Furrow" for its contradiction of natural shadows, and points out the absence of any but local-color shading in one or two animals (bits of pictures) by Bewick, though it would have been fairer to his hearers, and to the great English artist, to have selected a landscape, as in Holbein's case. The question of light and shade with Bewick is in fact one of degree; sometimes he pays more, sometimes less, attention to it; but it would be difficult, and we doubt if it would be possible, to point out a piece of his in which his indifference to the quarter from which the light falls leads him into such flagrant violation of the truth as we see in the "Last Furrow." Into the general discussion we cannot enter here. Everybody knows that the later development of wood-engraving has been steadily approaching towards a more or less adequate and consistent

rendering of chiaroscuro. That this has been attended with some loss may be admitted, and good evidence found in comparing, say, the essentially light-and-shade illustrations of Wood's edition of 'White of Selborne' (Routledge, 1864) and the corresponding figures in Bewick's 'British Birds.' But that Bewick himself, were he alive, would fail to see in the work of the French, German, and best English ateliers a prodigious advance in the art of woodcutting, and a perfectly legitimate advance, we have every reason to disbelieve. In his Memoirs he could say of his brother artists, "I behold their excellent productions with pleasure; in them there is no failing off; *they surpass those of the artists of the olden times*." This was written half a century ago; but at that day where could anything be found comparable to the weekly pictorial achievements of the *Tour du Monde*? Let those grieve who will that the designer is seldom now his own engraver; but let us be careful how we limit, *ex cathedra*, the capacity of wood in the service of art. Bewick, to quote him once more in opposition to his admirer, "attempted *color* upon the wood" (by which it is clear he does not mean Mr. Ruskin's "local color"), "and though," he says, "I felt much difficulty in my attempts at producing it, yet the principle is there, and will shine out under the skill and management of any eminent engraver on wood who is gifted with a painter's eye; and his work will be complete if seconded by a pressman of ability, who may happen to have a talent and fellow-feeling for the art." These views are valuable in enabling us to test Mr. Ruskin's interpretations, not only of Bewick's work and spirit, but also of Holbein's, who alone, we imagine, could settle the difference between the Slade Professor and Dr. Wolmann as to the actual expression of the preacher's

face in Fig. 3 ("The Two Preachers"), and between the former and ourselves—we say it humbly—as to the character sought to be given to the congregation ("all simple and stupid people").

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authoress.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Argyle (A.), <i>Olive Lacey</i> : a Tale of '98.....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
American Annual Cyclopædia for 1873.....	(Appleton & Co.)
Baker (Rev. W. M.), <i>Mose Evans</i> .....	(Hurd & Heughton) \$1.50
Brigham (W. T.), <i>Cast Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture</i> .....	(Lee & Shepard) 15 00
Essay Institute Historical Collection, Vol. XII., Part II., <i>swd</i> .....	(Salem)
Essays and Addresses at Owens College, Manchester.....	(Macmillan & Co.) 5 00
Guyot (A.), <i>Grammar-School Geography</i> .....	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)
Gerard (J. W.), <i>The Old Streets of New York under the Dutch</i> , <i>swd</i> .....	(New York)
Gekle (J.), <i>The Great Ice Age</i> .....	(Appleton & Co.)
Hoffman (H.), <i>Kindergarten Toys, and How to Use Them</i> , <i>swd</i> .....	(E. Steiger) 0 20
Morford (H.), <i>Short-Trip Guide to America</i> .....	(J. B. Lippincott & Co.)
Murray (Prof. J. C.), <i>Ballads and Songs of Scotland</i> .....	(Macmillan & Co.) 2 25
Pettigrew (Dr. J. B.), <i>Physiology of the Circulation in Plants, the Lower Animals, and Man</i> .....	(Macmillan & Co.) 4 00
Rend (Bishop), <i>Theory of the Glaciers of Savoy</i> .....	(Macmillan & Co.) 3 00
Rae (W. F.), <i>Wilkes, Sheridan, Fox</i> .....	(Appleton & Co.)
Sully (J.), <i>Sensation and Intuition</i> .....	(Henry S. King & Co.)
Sheldon (E. A.), <i>Primer, First, Second, and Third Readers</i> .....	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.)
Tuckerman (J.), <i>On the Elevation of the Poor</i> .....	(Roberts Bros.) 1 25
Verne (J.), <i>Adventures in the Land of the Behemoth</i> .....	(H. L. Shepard & Co.) 1 00
Villetard (E.), <i>History of the International</i> .....	(Geo. H. Richmond & Co.)

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## THE WEEK IN TRADE AND FINANCE.

NEW YORK, June 8, 1874.

THE principal events of the week were the publication of the President's plan for the resumption—the very early resumption—of specie payments, and the retirement of Mr. Richardson from the Treasury Department. The former, although admitting of much argument regarding the policy of so sudden a resumption of a gold and silver currency, is upon the whole regarded with favor among business men of all classes, as it promises that, with the President's consent, no legislation looking toward a further green-back inflation shall be forced upon the country. The retirement of Mr. Richardson was favorably received, as his policy, or rather want of policy, in the management of the Treasury had become very unpopular with the business community and the country generally.

The money market has remained easy at from 2 to 3 per cent. on call. For time loans, there is no change to report in rates, borrowers having found no difficulty in supplying their wants at 7 per cent. for the balance of the year, while on loans having a shorter time to run much lower rates were demanded. In commercial paper, prime names pass readily at 4½ to 6 per cent.

Cable advices reported a further reduction in the Bank of England rate of discount on Thursday, the bank having gained £632,000 in bullion during the week.

The bank statement on Saturday was slightly unfavorable, showing a falling off of \$587,575 in the net reserve.

The following shows the changes in the different items:

	May 29.	June 6.	Differences.
Loans.....	\$280,558,100	\$279,926,300	Dec... \$631,800
Specie.....	25,517,400	24,342,100	Dec... 1,183,300
Legal tenders.....	61,456,700	61,890,800	Inc... 434,100
Deposits.....	232,404,300	231,913,300	Dec... 491,000
Circulation.....	26,727,500	26,674,000	Inc... 36,500

The following shows the relation between the total reserve and the total liabilities:

	May 29.	June 6.	Differences.
Specie.....	\$25,517,400	\$24,332,107	Dec... \$1,183,300
Legal tenders.....	61,456,700	61,890,800	Inc... 434,100
Total reserve.....	\$86,974,100	\$86,272,900	Dec... \$701,200
Circulation.....	26,727,500	26,784,000	Inc... 36,500
Deposits.....	232,404,300	231,913,300	Dec... 491,000
Total liabilities.....	\$259,131,800	\$258,677,300	Dec... \$454,500
25 per cent. reserve.....	61,732,950	61,669,345	Dec... 537,575
Excess over 25 per cent. reserve.....	23,191,150	21,633,575	

The stock market during the week was what may be called irregular. Prices at the close on Saturday had fallen off from ½ to 3 per cent., as compared with those at the close of the previous week. The first effect of President Grant's plan for the resumption of specie payments was to weaken the entire list of speculation stocks and cause considerable "short" selling. To-day the market showed evident signs of being largely oversold, and when

buyers appeared they were unable to get many stocks except at an advance of from 1 to 1½ per cent. above the closing quotations of Saturday.

It is evident that large amounts of stocks have been purchased from time to time by people who have paid for and taken them away from the Street. The banks are reported as having loaned out on call upon stock collateral only one-half the amount of money so loaned at this time last year, which is very good evidence that the stocks are not on the Street. The large operators have been "bearish," and are just now thought to be short of the market and doing their best to keep prices down while they are buying in to cover their previous short sales. Altogether we think that the market has turned, or will shortly turn, for an upward movement. Very possibly another hoist may be given it before the final advance sets in, but the backbone of the bear movement, unless all signs fail, is broken.

The investment stocks have been very dull during the week and prices lower. Illinois Central was down on orders to sell from Europe, where a large amount of it is held for investment, and at one time the price reached 94. Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western closed firm at 109 bid this evening, and New Jersey Central at 108 bid.

The following shows the highest and lowest sales of the leading stocks at the Stock Exchange for the week ending Saturday, June 6, 1874:

	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wednesday.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.	Sales.
N. Y. C. & H. R. ....	97½	93½	93½	97½	97	97½	97½
Lake Shore.....	73½	73	73½	72½	72½	71½	72½
Erie.....	82½	83½	82½	83½	83½	83½	83½
Union Pacific.....	21½	21½	26½	25½	25½	21½	21½
Central N. Y. ....	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½	37½
Do. pfd....	57½	57	57½	57	57½	57½	57½
N. J. Central.....	105½	105½	104½	105½	104½	106½	106½
Rock Island.....	95½	97½	95½	95½	95½	95½	95½
M. & St. Paul. ....	8½	8½	8½	8½	8½	8½	8½
Do. pfd....	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½	12½
Wabash.....	36½	37½	31½	35½	31	33½	33½
D. L. & W. ....	10½	10½	10½	10½	10½	10½	10½
O. & M. ....	24	24	21	23½	23½	23	23
C. C. & I. C. ....	19	19	19½	19½	19½	19½	19½
W. U. Tel. ....	72½	73½	73½	73½	73½	71½	71½
Pacific Mail.....	42½	43½	41½	42½	41½	42½	41½

Government bonds were weak and drooping towards the close of the week, owing to the sharp decline and subsequent weakness of the gold premium. In the foreign markets our bonds were higher, in gold, in consequence of easier money in London. The Secretary of the Treasury has called in for redemption \$5,000,000 more of the 5-20's of 1862, on which the interest will cease September 3. The following were the closing quotations of Governments in this market to-night:

U. S. 6's of 1881.....	121 1/2	121 1/2	U. S. 5-20, 1867 .....	120 1/2
U. S. 5-20, 1862.....	113 1/2	114	U. S. 5-20, 1863.....	120 1/2
U. S. 5-20, 1864.....	116 1/2	116 1/2	U. S. 5's, 10-40.....	113 1/2
U. S. 5-20, 1865, May and Nov.....	117 1/2	118	U. S. 5's of 1881.....	113 1/2
U. S. 5-20, 1865, Jan. and July.....	119 1/2	120	U. S. Currency 6's.....	114 1/2

The gold market, in spite of the large shipments of specie which have taken place, has exhibited continued weakness throughout the week. The opening price on Monday was 112½, from which point the price persistently fell off to 110½ on Saturday, closing at 110½—about the lowest point of the week. The shipments for the week amounted to \$2,415,364, making the total shipments for the year \$25,154,000, against \$22,464,000 in 1873, and \$30,498,000 in 1872.

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